

El Salvador: repression grows under military-run government

BY GREG McCARTAN

Events in El Salvador over the past two weeks underline the extent to which the civilian government of Alfredo Cristiani, elected last March, has increasingly come under the domination of the U.S.-financed military forces and right-wing death squads.

On November 23 as new repressive legislation was being prepared, Cristiani and armed forces Chief of Staff René Emilio Ponce announced the 30-day state of siege would not be lifted before December 12. The measure, which suspended civil liberties and gave the military powers to arrest and hold people for almost any reason, was declared November 12 in response to the nationwide military offensive by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The new legislation introduced in the Salvadoran Legislative Assembly by Cristiani's party, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena), makes it a crime to possess or distribute material deemed to "subvert the public order." Secretaries, printers, or sign painters who accept such work face up to two years in prison.

The new laws also give the U.S.-backed government broad powers to ban protests, strikes, and meetings.

The recent fighting, in which rebels occupied areas of the largest cities in the country, was the fiercest and most extensive in the 10-year civil war.

Government forces inflicted thousands of casualties on the civilian population by machine-gunning and bombing neighborhoods in cities across the country from U.S.-supplied gunships and jets. While open combat in the capital of San Salvador has died down, fighting in other parts of the country continues.

"We are back to a totalitarian government," Geraldo LeChevalier said of the new restrictions. He is a senior member of the Christian Democratic Party, which governed the country from 1984-1989. The party abstained from voting on the new laws. The repressive legislation passed 45-0.

As soon as the new get-tough laws were announced, *Al Día*, a widely respected news program, went off the air in protest. "It is one thing to censor news from the guerrillas, but it is another to censor all political expression," said Narciso Castillo, director of the program. "There are some forces in the country who are trying to take advantage of the situation to impose a dictatorship."

The FMLN, over its *Radio Venceremos*, restated its desire "to define an immediate cease-fire." The rebels said they were willing

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Czechoslovak protests score gains for rights

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Czechoslovakia, a country in Eastern Europe of more than 15 million people, was almost completely shut down on November 27 as millions joined a two-hour walkout to press the Communist Party to give up its grip on power.

This action and the massive protests leading up to it have shattered the CP and the structures of Stalinist repression. For the first time in 40 years the door to practicing politics has been opened for working people.

At noon on the day of the general strike miners, firemen, brewery workers, steelworkers, machinists, oil workers, communications workers, construction workers, airline workers, bakers, auto workers, welders, and others downed tools and stopped their machines.

More than 900 factories and businesses were idled across the country, and urban mass transit was halted everywhere. Workers' participation in the strike activities was organized by factory strike committees.

Subway workers in Prague announced to passengers in advance of the strike their intention to honor it and provided information about rallies. Only hospitals, nursing homes, food stores, and a few other enterprises continued to operate.

Together with students, writers, artists, and middle-class professionals, workers marched in contingents in the capital city, Prague; in Vysocany, Prague's industrial area; in Bratislava, the country's second largest city; in the industrial centers of Brno, Ostrava, and Rosice; and other cities and towns.

Protesters carrying banners and the Czechoslovak flag converged in main squares across the country to demand free elections and an end to the Communist Party's monopoly on power. The protesters also insisted on guarantees of freedom of assembly, speech, and the press.

Insist on democratic rights

Some contingents raised demands that corrupt CP and government officials be brought to justice. Airline workers demanded that the CP give up its private fleet of 15 jets used to ferry top officials around the world.

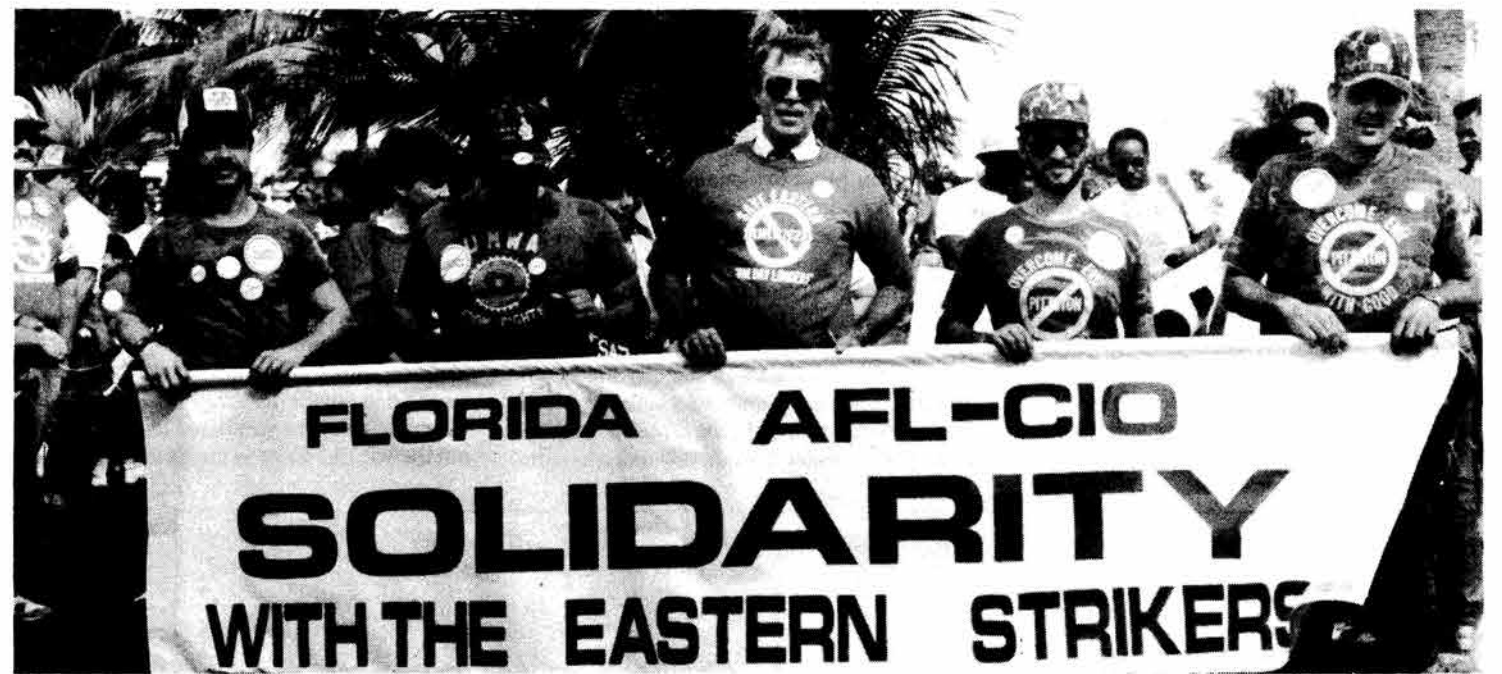
One Communist Party official estimated between 6 and 7 million people participated in the strike. It was the first massive protest since Aug. 23, 1968, when more than 2 million workers stopped work to protest the Soviet-led invasion that crushed a popular reform movement.

Bowing to the pressure, the regime announced that most forms of press censorship had been lifted. Deputy Prime Minister Jaromir Zak also said on state TV that authorities had decided to drop from the draft of a new constitution the long-standing article codifying the CP's dominant role in government.

In negotiations the following day with leaders of Civic Forum, the main opposition

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Machinists' strike at Eastern solid — Dec. 8 actions called



Militant/Susan Zárate

Striking Eastern Machinists in Miami organized march of 1,000 November 19, one of many actions spearheaded by IAM strikers in recent months. Pittston Coal strikers helped lead protest. On November 22 the pilots' association ended their sympathy strike at Eastern; flight attendants' union did so the next day.

BY SUSAN LaMONT

Striking Machinists union members have called a "Stand Up to Lorenzo Day" for December 8 to show that their strike against

Eastern Airlines remains solid, despite the decision by the pilots' association and flight attendants' union to end their sympathy strikes at the carrier. The events, sponsored by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and AFL-CIO, will take place at airports or city ticket offices in Atlanta; Boston; Chicago; Cleveland; Denver; Houston; Los Angeles; Miami; Newark, New Jersey; New York; Philadelphia; and Washington, D.C.

In New York, Eastern IAM members are also stepping up efforts to make the December 8 Labor Solidarity Benefit there a show of strength by strikers. The benefit, hosted by IAM District 100 and other unions, will be the largest Eastern strike support event in New York in several months.

These actions reflect the overwhelming reaction by the 8,500 striking Machinists to the pilots and flight attendants' return to work: determination to continue fighting.

The decision by the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) Master Executive Council at Eastern was announced November 22. "We

did everything within our power to win a just war against a greedy and insensitive management," said Eastern ALPA head Skip Copeland. "The time has come now to go back, help rebuild Eastern, and get on with our lives."

Officials of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents flight attendants, followed suit the next day.

Pilots and flight attendants at Eastern had honored the IAM's picket lines since they walked out together March 4, grounding the airline's operations. They had joined Machinists on the picket lines and at rallies, caravans, airport walk-throughs, and other strike activities for nearly nine months.

Their return to work is a blow to the strike and an aid to Eastern's efforts to rebuild as a nonunion carrier.

'Blow to solidarity'

During the evening of November 22, word began to filter onto airport picket lines and into union halls that the pilots were ending

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Ortega hits Salvador regime for suspending diplomatic relations

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Charges that the Nicaraguan government has been arming Salvadoran guerrilla fighters are a pretext for El Salvador's suspension of diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, President Daniel Ortega stated here.

On November 25 the Salvadoran armed forces said a plane carrying surface-to-air missiles for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) had crashed near the southeastern town of Usulután. The army press office claimed the plane came from Nicaragua.

At a November 27 meeting in Managua to commemorate five Jesuit priests murdered by the Salvadoran military, Ortega said Nicaragua is not on trial and does not have to "accept or reject" the accusation of involvement in the arms shipment. The main issue is not whether a plane carried arms, Ortega said, but that the Salvadoran regime "is violating human rights and assassinating the people." Nothing should be allowed to divert attention from that fact, he stated.

If Nicaragua were to break relations with other countries because of "events like this,"

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'A common fight—Greensboro to Third World'

Socialist campaign reaches working people in North Carolina



Militant/Arthur Hughes
Yvonne Hayes, Greensboro, North Carolina, socialist mayoral candidate in recent elections there.

BY RICH STUART

GREENSBORO, N.C. — During the recent race for mayor here, Socialist Workers Party candidate Yvonne Hayes received 4,441 votes — 15 percent of the total votes cast in this industrialized southern city.

The votes were one indication of the serious hearing Hayes got from working people during her campaign — despite attempts by the employers, politicians, and big-business media to portray the socialist candidate's ideas and proposals as irrelevant — at best — for Greensboro.

An editorial in the *Greensboro News & Record* trying to brush Hayes' campaign aside gives an idea of the rulers' approach. "Local government has more to do with sewer lines and zoning spats than workers' rights," the editorial advised.

Hayes, a textile mill worker and member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, argued the opposite. Unemployment, homelessness, and drug abuse in Greensboro are part of the growing international crisis of capitalism, she explained, as are other attacks on workers and farmers. Hardest hit are the most oppressed workers,

especially Blacks and women. Working people should not and will not accept these conditions without a fight, Hayes said. She pointed to the strikes by Eastern Airlines workers and Pittston Coal miners as examples of resistance among workers.

Ideas hit home to workers

These ideas hit home to workers in North Carolina. In recent years they have seen wealthy speculators make billions off the corporate buyouts of the North Carolina-based RJR Nabisco and Burlington Industries textile company.

The socialist campaign issued statements on the fight for decent housing; how to beat back racist attacks, from New York City to Virginia Beach, Virginia; and the battle to defend and extend women's right to abortion. Hayes' supporters also sold the *Militant* and the pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis* widely at factories and rail yards, on campuses, and in working-class communities in the Greensboro area. The Action Program, which proposes a fight for a shorter workweek, affirmative action, and cancellation of the Third World debt, was at the center of Hayes' campaign platform.

Support to Eastern strike

The socialist candidate was frequently on the Eastern strikers' picket line at Piedmont Triad International Airport. Whenever she was interviewed by the media, Hayes spoke out in support of the strike.

When Eastern resumed flights out of Greensboro in September, local businesses and the Airport Authority cheered Eastern on. In one television appearance, Hayes called for firing the Airport Authority chairman for his support to Eastern's strikebreaking. She urged people to boycott Eastern and Continental airlines.

Because Hayes was the only candidate running against the incumbent mayor, the media tried to downplay the importance of the race. Nevertheless, the race was seen by many people as a contest between the wealthy powers-that-be and a textile worker who was speaking on behalf of working people, especially the poorest. "You are really telling the truth," many of Hayes' coworkers told her.

One question Hayes often got from workers was for more explanation about her support for the demand to cancel the Third World debt. What does this have to do with workers in the United States? she was asked. Hayes pointed to the skyscrapers going up in downtown Greensboro for the banks and insurance companies while at the same time the living conditions of workers in the city are deteriorating. The same financial giants are bleeding working people in the Third World and here, she explained, so there's a need — and

basis — for working people internationally to join in a common fight.

During the campaign, Hayes kept working at her regular job at Cone Mills on the 7:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. shift. This meant she wasn't able to personally appear at all candidates' forums and other campaign events. When needed, campaign supporters would pinch hit for her. This gave other workers and young people who were backing Hayes a chance to gain experience themselves in explaining the socialist campaign's proposals.

Producing campaign literature was also a collective effort. A committee of campaigners, including a high school activist who had met the candidate at an abortion rights rally, worked with Hayes on preparing a statement on women's rights.

At a candidates' forum sponsored by the Sierra Club and Audubon Society, one city council candidate said that Greensboro has a poor transit system because the system was dismantled and the buses sold to Argentina. "We sent them buses and they send us dope," the candidate — a former police officer — argued.

Socialist campaign spokesman Devin Oldendick blasted the statement as racist and ignorant. The social and economic crisis wracking Latin America is caused by the exploitation of U.S. and other imperialist banks and corporations, he pointed out, urging support for cancellation of the Third World debt.

Hayes and other campaign spokespeople

were also frequently asked, What country in the world is an example of socialism?

The socialist campaigners pointed to Cuba. Cuba "has placed the fight for workers' rights around the world at the top of its priority list," explained Hayes in a guest column in the *News & Record*. The column was titled, "A Global View of the Mayor's Race."

Support from coworkers

Hayes' coworkers at Cone Mills — many of whom she didn't know before the race started — were excited about her campaign and the support it registered on election day. Other workers were also encouraged. "You made some real good points with the campaign," a leader of the Eastern strikers told Hayes the day after the election. The president of the striking Machinists union local called Hayes to thank her for using her campaign to support their strike.

"By placing Greensboro in a world context, understanding the crisis of our cities in terms of an international crisis, and seeing that working people need to organize to defend ourselves, we can begin to take steps forward," Hayes explained in the *News & Record* column. Many workers and young people agreed.

During the campaign, three of Hayes' supporters in Greensboro decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance. Several students at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill are discussing forming a YSA chapter there.

New brochure urges: 'Join Young Socialist Alliance'

The Young Socialist Alliance has recently produced an attractive, four-page brochure to introduce young people to the YSA and its political perspectives.

The brochure begins with a brief summary of Mark Curtis' defense case. Curtis is a union activist and former YSA national chairperson who was framed up and jailed on phony rape and burglary charges in Des Moines, Iowa, last year. Curtis' frame-up is "an attack on all young people," the brochure explains. The rulers "don't want youth to do what Mark Curtis did 12 years ago in Albuquerque, New Mexico," when he joined the YSA.

The brochure has sections that explain the growing international capitalist crisis; the mounting resistance in the U.S. labor movement, as seen in the Eastern Airlines and Pittston Coal company strikes; the fight for abortion rights; the centrality of the freedom struggle in southern Africa; and the example Cuba provides for youth and toilers throughout the world. "Cuba is engaged in a political

battle to deepen the fight for socialism in Cuba, defending socialism as the only road forward for the world's workers, and continuing to provide an example of communist leadership internationally," the brochure explains.

The brochure urges youth to join the YSA and become part of the revolutionary struggle to end the system of capitalism and establish a workers' and farmers' government in the United States.

"As struggles around the world show, it is not enough to have good ideas. Youth have to organize to make them a reality. The Young Socialist Alliance is the revolutionary organization in this country that is acting today to put these ideas in practice. If these are your perspectives then this is your organization. Join us!"

Single copies of the brochure are available at no cost from the YSA; multiple copies cost 10 cents each. Write to YSA, P.O. Box 211, New York, N.Y. 10011.

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Labor battles, coalfield activity theme of St. Louis meeting

BY RONI McCANN

ST. LOUIS — Traveling from Appalachian and western coal-mining regions, and from the South and Midwest, socialist activists arrived here November 24 for a three-day conference to discuss the political opportunities in the United States today. The meeting registered a victory in strengthening the political orientation of the Socialist Workers Party to workers in the coal industry, their communities, and their union.

The meeting brought together some 270 members, supporters, and friends of the SWP and members of the Young Socialist Alliance. International guests attended including two coal miners from Britain and a garment worker from Canada. Among the participants were members of more than 20 trade unions including the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and two members of the International Association of Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines.

The conference was hosted by the St. Louis branch of the SWP whose members and supporters organized all details of the event. The weekend featured an international rally in defense of Mark Curtis, sponsored by St. Louis supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and a regional meeting of the Young Socialist Alliance.

As participants exchanged accounts of political work in their unions, on their picket lines, and in their cities and regions, socialist activists were able to get a broader view and appreciation of the impact this work has on the labor battles unfolding today and of the increased responsibilities and opportunities they face as communists, particularly as combatants in the fight of miners against Pittston Coal Group and in the Eastern Airlines strike.

'Grand and glorious events'

The opening night of the conference featured a Militant Labor Forum with SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes entitled "The 'Failure of Socialism' and the Future of Communism."

Barnes began his talk declaring, "We are living through grand and glorious events. What took 10 years in Poland, took 10 weeks in East Germany and 10 days in Czechoslovakia."

The tumultuous events taking place in Eastern Europe today are the beginning of the end of decades of lying in the name of socialism, said Barnes. This disintegration of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Communist Parties throughout the world, means a blow dealt to one of the greatest obstacles facing humanity — the illusion that Stalinism is communism.

"There's not one centimeter," said Barnes, "of socialism that is connected to Stalinism and these bureaucracies, and with these parties and their leaderships."

Barnes explained that socialists should welcome and reach out to the millions of

workers in Eastern Europe fighting to break from decades of depoliticization and isolation from the world.

Workers and their allies are fighting for freedom of travel, press, speech, and other democratic rights that have been won in many capitalist countries, Barnes said. However, we should make no mistake in thinking that nationalized property can be reversed and capitalism implemented without a civil war.

Abstract terms about markets and enterprises are one thing, the SWP leader explained, but moves that cut into established social gains have been and will be fought.

Barnes explained that the U.S. imperialists have been dealt the biggest blow by these events. "Their long-term goal is to somehow stabilize the world along the lines they drew in the Second World War and then tried to draw in other wars since. They aim to build a stable base from which to eventually conquer those who fight against them and to reconquer those who have gotten rid of capitalism. This aim," he said "is being dealt a historic blow."

Cuba and South Africa remain at the center of resolving the crisis of leadership on a world scale, said Barnes, partly because of the revolutionary weight of the Americas and the place of Cuba and the political weight of the battle for southern Africa.

But the most important reason, said Barnes, is because "it's only where the most intense, deepest fighting is going on, with the greatest consequences for humanity, and with fighters who are deeply committed to this course, that communism can make its greatest strides. It doesn't begin with good ideas — it begins with the capacity to fight like no one else fights."

Barnes announced that the SWP will hold a national convention in May of next year in Chicago, following months of discussion on the big events in the world and the changed pattern of working-class struggle in the United States.

Conference marks a victory

SWP Trade Union Secretary John Gaige opened his report on the "Changing Patterns of U.S. Politics" by recognizing that far from losing the political orientation to the coalfields that the party set out to strengthen two years ago, today socialists in the coal-mining branches have thrown themselves into the battles unfolding in the coal industry and socialist activists in the UMWA, along with other fighting miners, form part of an emerging rank-and-file leadership.

Gaige discussed the strike struggles that have opened up in the United States today that socialist workers are living through, participating in, and that form a new pattern in labor struggles. This comes after years of workers giving concessions without a struggle, he said.

He cited the victory of the New York

hospital workers strike and the fights waged by telephone workers, Boeing workers, and others. At the center of this resistance is the nine-month strike against Eastern Airlines and the UMWA's battle against Pittston Coal Group.

For the first time in 40 years there are national strikes that overlap in time, thus providing the opportunity for them to interconnect. Eastern and Pittston workers are at the center of this development.

There's not only solidarity within the strikes, which builds unity, said Gaige, but they reach out and link up with other battles — solidarity that builds strength, confidence, and staying power. The fighters begin to mix it up, get to know each other, become knowledgeable about the problems imposed on each other by the bosses. They begin to identify with each other and break down false impressions, prejudices, and divisions.

"There is not only a shift in combat but in consciousness as well," said Gaige.

The fights are having a political impact inside and outside of the labor movement. This is evident in other fights, around housing, affirmative action, and abortion rights, and by the response to the socialist press, he said.

Gaige cited examples of recent sales teams to the coalfields — miners, strikers, more working people in general subscribing to, reading, and using the *Militant* as a tool that helps them understand the world and fight better.

In his report, Gaige explained that when struggles between workers and employers sharpen, anti-working class outfits, with significant resources and tied to bigger forces in society, zero in on working-class fighters and labor battles seeking to do everything possible to divide, disrupt, and throw fights off course.

The Workers League is such an outfit whose antilabor role must be explained politically, Gaige said. Pretending to be socialist they slander socialists, call fighters spies, and sow division in the thick of battle when unity is needed and disagreements get worked out side-by-side in struggle.

Mary Zins, a member of UMWA Local 2295, reviewed the eight-month strike against Pittston Coal Group and outlined political projections in the coal-mining regions.

Zins discussed the recent history of struggle by union miners including the defeat



Militant/Greg Nelson
Union miner Mary Zins reporting at meeting on Pittston strike, coal opportunities.

suffered in the UMWA strike at A.T. Massey Coal in 1984-85, the subsequent fights in the western coalfields, and how these struggles led to the explosion of solidarity within the UMWA around the current fight against Pittston.

They are confident and determined to fight because UMWA miners made the strike against Pittston their own, said Zins. They did this when 44,000 UMWA miners walked off the job in June for six weeks.

Zins described the important role played by socialist activists, along with fellow union fighters, in the walkouts building support for the Pittston fight. Since the walkouts have ended, Zins explained, countless solidarity rallies, demonstrations, and caravans to Virginia have taken place and continue to take place that socialists have been a big part of — not only in the miners' union but in the steelworkers, machinists, auto workers, and other unions as well.

The strikers' Camp Solidarity in Virginia, visited by more than 45,000 unionists and strike supporters in six months, has become a place where fighters meet other fighters, discuss, and reinforce each other. Zins, herself, had just returned from a week's stay along with three other union members — part of the solidarity efforts by her local in southern Illinois.

Participants agreed with projections Zins laid out for further strengthening the coal

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Rights lawyer Boudin dies

Noted constitutional rights attorney Leonard Boudin died of a heart attack November 24 in New York City.

Boudin had been at the center of legal battles with the government involving major questions of constitutional law and democratic rights for more than four decades.

Throughout that time he provided legal counsel for victims of government repression, doing so even when the groups or individuals involved had little public support.

One of his most celebrated early cases came during the witch-hunt era of the late 1940s and early '50s. Boudin defended Judith Coplon, an employee of the Justice Department who became the first U.S. civilian tried for spying for the Soviet Union.

During those years he also became the general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The group was formed because other civil liberties organizations refused to defend communists, those accused of being communists, and other victims of thought-control legislation.

Boudin also represented the Cuban government's interests in the United States for the past 30 years. He defended students who had their passports revoked for defying the

U.S. travel ban to Cuba in the mid-1960s as well.

In 1963, when three members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of Indiana in Bloomington were charged with conspiring to "overthrow the state of Indiana by force and violence," Boudin took on the case. A victory was scored when the charges were withdrawn in 1967.

Boudin represented the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the historic court case launched in 1973 against the FBI and other government police agencies.

The judge in the case ruled in 1986 that the FBI's use of informers, disruption programs, and break-ins was illegal and ordered the government to pay damages.

Boudin called the ruling "a contribution to constitutional law, extending important new protection to the rights of all."

He was general counsel for the SWP and YSA, providing legal advice in a number of cases involving political rights.

A fuller article celebrating Boudin's life and contributions will appear in a coming issue of the *Militant*.

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Public School 11, 314 West 21 St.

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SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA:

Mary-Alice Waters Editor of *New International*

Saturday, December 9, 7:00 p.m.

Travelodge, 250 Beach St. at Mason, on Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco.

Sponsored by Militant Labor Forums

These forums are part of three political conferences the Socialist Workers Party is hosting over the next few weeks. Socialist activists on the East Coast will meet in **New York December 2-3**. Activists from California, Pacific Northwest, and Southwest will attend a conference in **San Francisco, December 9-10**. The first of the conferences was held in St. Louis November 24-26 and was attended by socialists from the Appalachian and western coal-mining regions, the South, and Midwest. An article on that meeting appears in this issue of the *Militant*.

Curtis greets Britain's release of Guildford 4

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who is serving a 25-year prison term in the state penitentiary in Anamosa on frame-up charges of rape and burglary.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee is leading an international campaign to fight for justice for Curtis. For more information

prison as an example to others who would follow your lead. By imprisoning you, they attempted to separate you from the struggle and force you to suffer the pains of imprisonment. But you never separated from the struggle, and you were never broken in spirit.

"Your resolve inspired others in the fight to demand your freedom.

death penalty was imposed by a Swedish court.

A protest campaign by workers in Sweden, Europe, and the United States was mounted. More than 600 meetings were organized in the

dozen capitalist countries. For his contribution he won a commendation from the commander of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky. He also became an active member of the Bolshevik Party.

After V.I. Lenin died in 1924 and Joseph Stalin began to assume greater and greater power at the head of a privileged bureaucracy, Nilsson left the Soviet Union. Despite Stalin's terror which was responsible for the death of many of his comrades and friends, Nilsson remained committed to the gains of the Russian revolution.

Throughout his long life Nilsson remained a political activist supporting the struggles of the people in Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and South Africa. In Cuba a school is named after him.

Last year Nilsson escaped his confinement in a hospital intensive care unit in order to keep a promise to speak at a political meeting.

He became an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee last year and wrote to Curtis in prison. Nilsson didn't want flowers for his funeral, Pathfinder supporter Dag Tirsén wrote the Des Moines defense committee. Instead he would have wanted people to make contributions to promote the fight of the oppressed around the world. Given Nilsson's strong support for Curtis' struggle, Pathfinder Bookstore supporters decided to contribute to the defense committee.

The Student Action Union, a national organization of student activists in the United States, has joined the growing worldwide protest of prison authorities' prohibition against Curtis receiving correspondence and literature in languages other than English and against the

rights of prisoners to share literature.

In a letter to Curtis' warden the organization said these measures are "attempts to cut Mark off from his supporters outside the wall and to weaken his efforts to explain his case and discuss politics with other prisoners."

"We, the Student Action Union, became endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at one of our previous conferences. We are now demanding that both of the above mentioned restrictions be removed, for all prisoners. We firmly believe that an injury to one is an injury to all."

An international campaign is being conducted by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to win Curtis and other prisoners the right to receive literature and correspondence in the language of their choice and to share literature with each other. Prison authorities have denied Curtis and other prisoners non-English materials and letters claiming they are a "security" problem.

You can help in this fight by sending a protest message of your own or from your organization to: John A. Thalacker, Warden, Iowa State Men's Reformatory, Anamosa, Iowa 52205.

Copies should be sent to: Attorney General Thomas J. Miller, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319; Paul Grossheim, Director, Department of Corrections, Capitol Annex, 523 E. 12th St., Des Moines, Iowa 50309; and the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Katarina Hamberg from Umeå, Sweden, contributed to this week's column.

DEFEND MARK CURTIS!

about the case or how you can help, write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311; telephone (515) 246-1695.

If you have news or reports on activities in support of Mark Curtis from your city or country, please send them to the *Militant*.

Recently the British government was forced to release the Guildford Four, Irish political activists who were framed up and jailed on bombing charges in 1975. They served 14 years in prison.

Mark Curtis sent the following message to the Guildford Four:

"Your release is great news! This victory is a huge blow to British imperialism and will be welcomed by working people everywhere. It has thrown into the spotlight Britain's illegal occupation of Northern Ireland, which always needed troops, rubber bullets, live ammo, repression, Diplock courts, prisons, and frame-ups to exist.

"Your refusal to accept this occupation designed to keep the Catholic population in an oppressed and super-exploited status is what the British government put you in jail for. The fight for a free and united Ireland is what the British government hates most. They threw you in

It was this worldwide campaign that vindicated you and forced the government to finally admit that it illegally imprisoned you. Although Prime Minister Thatcher considers herself the 'Iron Lady,' and brags about the 'intractableness' of her government, it is the fighters for freedom around the globe who are proving to be made of iron and are intractable.

"With your release, we have even more reason to be optimistic and to fight harder for the release of the Birmingham Six, Joe Doherty, and others. I am personally inspired by this victory and pledge to make it known in this place. It gives me more strength in my own fight for freedom."

Supporters of the Pathfinder Bookstore in Stockholm, Sweden, contributed 300 kronor (US\$50) to the defense campaign in honor of Anton Nilsson.

Nilsson, one of the first supporters in Sweden of Curtis' defense effort, died on August 16. He was 101 years old. In 1908 he was convicted and condemned to death for bombing a ship that housed scabs during a transportation workers' strike in the southern Swedish city of Malmö. This was the last time the



Militant/Dag Tirsén
Anton Nilsson at political event in 1988.

United States alone for Nilsson's defense effort.

In 1917 a large demonstration to physically free him was called off after it became clear that the prison warden had planned a bloodbath for demonstrators and had ordered guards to shoot Nilsson if anyone entered the prison.

Nilsson was freed later that year by the newly elected Social Democratic government. In 1918 he traveled to Soviet Russia, becoming a pilot in the revolutionary Red Army. He participated in battles to defend the newly founded workers' republic against the invasion by more than

Rally presses fight for Curtis' rights in jail

BY RONI McCANN

ST. LOUIS — "Being able to use the phone is something I wouldn't be able to do if so many of you hadn't raised your voices in protest... I want to thank you for that, for coming to the rally tonight, and for all the hard work you've done on my behalf," said Mark Curtis in a taped phone message played at the international defense rally here November 25.

The event brought together nearly 300 supporters of democratic rights and endorsers of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to hear an international panel of speakers discuss the campaign to defend Mark Curtis.

Curtis is a packinghouse worker and a political and union activist from Des Moines, Iowa, serving a 25-year sentence in the Iowa State prison in Anamosa. He was framed up on charges of rape and burglary and beaten in the city jail after his arrest.

John Hawkins, a member of the United Mine Workers of America Local 2368, co-chaired the rally along with Ruth Haswell from the National Union of Railwaymen in South Wales, Britain.

Alfredo Alvarez is the chair of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission and a member of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee speakers bureau and co-chair of its outreach committee. Alvarez explained that he was not an early supporter of the defense effort. He described the political atmosphere in Des Moines at the time of Mark's arrest and relayed the events that occurred leading him to the conviction that Mark was indeed framed.

"Let there be no mistake in what we are here for tonight," said Alvarez. "We are here for what will be a long struggle, the struggle for justice, and one that we cannot afford to lose."

James Harris, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, thanked the defense committee for the opportunity to address the rally. Harris said that while we can't have a direct impact on how long Curtis remains in jail, we can affect two things — whether Curtis comes out of prison a broken

person or a fighter, and how high a political price the cops, frame-up artists, packing-house bosses, and courts pay for putting Mark in jail.

Like all fighters everywhere, the most precious thing for Curtis is to have the space in which to fight and the opportunity to do so, said Harris. By carrying out the activities of the defense committee we can help Curtis utilize opportunities he has.

Harris also informed the crowd of the latest efforts organized by the Workers League to disrupt the defense campaign. This group masquerades as a socialist organization. In doing this it pretends to support the struggles of workers in order to better carry out a campaign of disruption in the workers' movement.

Strikers across the country — meat-packers, paperworkers, airline workers, miners — are beginning to learn about and repudiate the activities of the Workers League, Harris said.

Harris discussed the recent victory the SWP won against the Workers League when a federal judge in Los Angeles ruled against Alan Gelfand who charged in a suit that the SWP was run by FBI agents and therefore its leadership should be removed. Gelfand, supported by the Workers League, has through the use of the courts kept the SWP tied up in this suit for 10 years.

New disruption suit

Now, said Harris, the father of the young woman Curtis allegedly raped, together with the Workers League, is filing a suit against Curtis, for damages suffered by the victim. Knowing he has no assets, they openly say that the suit is being filed the same time Curtis is filing against the Des Moines police for the beating he got. The objective is to try to keep the case on a criminal axis rather than a political one and see to it that Curtis gets no monetary award for damages from the beating.

Harris stated that like other efforts of the Workers League to disrupt the defense campaign, this too can be driven back.

Jim Spaul, a member of the Kellingbery branch of the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain, told the crowd of the victimization miners suffered during the 1984-85 strike — some 1,000 fired by the British government. As a member of the Justice for Miners Committee, Spaul helps miners win their jobs back.

Spaul also related the boost working people in Britain and around the world got with the release of the Guildford Four.

Heather Randle, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, informed participants that members of the YSA will be putting their efforts behind an International Youth Appeal to win increased support for Mark Curtis among young people.

Hollis Watkins, a board member of the Foundation for Children and Youth in Mississippi and longtime civil rights activist, urged everyone present to give money to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "This is a serious war we're waging," he said, "and it's not just a fight for Mark Curtis who happens to be the victim this time."

Watkins introduced Eddie Carthan, farmer and former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, whom he met while participating in the Freedom Schools set up during the civil rights movement.

Carthan was elected mayor in 1977. Watkins described the campaign to remove him from office after he began to implement programs that benefited the majority.

In 1981 and 1982 Carthan was convicted on frame-up charges, including murder, and spent time in state and federal prisons. He explained that it was the efforts of a defense committee that freed him and urged all present not to give up.

"A lot of strong people, good people, are in jail throughout this country and throughout the world not because they are corrupt but because they refuse to become corrupt, not because they are criminals but because they are victims of a criminal society. So we must free Mark Curtis and all political prisoners."



Militant/Greg Nelson
Former Tchula, Mississippi, mayor Eddie Carthan.

Also speaking were Adelheid Butkus of the South West Africa People's Organisation and Kate Kaku, a member of the defense committee's steering committee and wife of Mark Curtis. Kaku gave an update on the activities of the committee, including the effort to get messages sent to Curtis' parole board around its November 8 hearing.

Several messages were read to the rally, including from two St. Louis alderpersons welcoming Curtis supporters to the city; Gloria Hoover for the Hoover family, victims of police brutality; Carroll Neamy of the Iowa American Agriculture Movement; the Revolutionary Young Communists of France; and from Filipino union leader Dominador Mamangun.

After the rally the newly released video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* was shown.

Czechoslovak protests score gains for democratic rights

Continued from front page

front, Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec made further concessions. These included promising to name a new cabinet within several days that would include non-CP ministers, granting the opposition access to the media and the right to publish a daily newspaper, releasing all political prisoners, and establishing a commission to investigate the beating of student demonstrators on November 17.

The Czech-based Civic Forum and its Slovak ally, the Public Against Violence, have issued additional demands to be addressed in future negotiations. Among them are early free elections, guarantees of freedom of speech and religion, and the resignation of President Gustav Husak, who has held the post for 18 years and is the last of the top "old guard" CP officials to hold office. Czechoslovakia is a federation of the Czech and Slovak republics.

Cop killing triggers upsurge

The stunning success of the protest strike was the culmination of an upsurge triggered 10 days earlier, on November 17, when Czechoslovak police attacked a student demonstration, beating beyond recognition and killing 20-year-old Martin Smid. The killing galvanized the population's repulsion for the regime's four decades of Stalinist terror and police-state regimentation.

Students responded by shutting down college and university campuses, launching sit-in strikes, and initiating the appeal for the walkout. Campuses were transformed into organizing centers. Charles University in Prague became a national center to coordinate student activities and demonstrations.

Faculty members, artists, and the actors' union quickly joined the students, closing libraries, museums, concert halls, and theaters and reopening them for political activity. Even the Prague Symphony Orchestra joined the student strike.

Student work battalions emerged and produced leaflets, posters, and a newsletter called *Young Front*. Declarations and appeals were typed up for the daily demonstrations that followed. Teams were dispatched in Prague and to regional towns to disseminate and post up leaflets.

Young socialists' meeting sets Curtis support effort

BY JANE SHRIMP
AND ELIZABETH KEALY

ST. LOUIS — Members and friends of the Young Socialist Alliance held a regional meeting here November 26. The event was the first of three to be held as part of political conferences organized by the Socialist Workers Party.

Some 36 activists participated in the meeting along with an international guest from West Africa and one from West Germany.

The report presented by YSA National Secretary Heather Randle focused on defending Mark Curtis, a young packinghouse worker, unionist, and political activist serving a 25-year sentence on frame-up charges of rape and burglary. The YSA will be circulating an International Youth Appeal initiated by the Curtis defense committee to gain support for the case.

Randle noted the importance of winning young activists to see this case as their fight to defend democratic rights. Participants in the meeting discussed how this fight provides an opportunity to broaden young people's understanding of the deepening class struggle in the United States by explaining the political stakes involved in the frame-up of Curtis.

The international defense campaign, which has won 6,000 endorsers to date, provides a basis for collaboration with other youth groups in this country and around the world. The success of this can be seen with results from efforts made already such as the recent endorsement by two African National

Other student teams were sent to factories and enterprises across the country to appeal for support for the protest strike. Posters and leaflets proclaimed: "Workers join us for freedom!" "Students against violence ask for your help!" and "Strike for democracy!"

Most Czechoslovak students come from the middle class and many, except for some who take summer jobs in factories, have little direct contact with factory workers. "This is the first time most of us have actually had a dialogue with the workers," one student said. "Every student who has gone to a factory, and there are hundreds of us, has had to find a common language to make the workers understand. There has been a lot of skepticism to overcome and social barriers that are usually not crossed in this country," he added.

Long live the workers!

As the daily demonstrations grew to massive proportions involving hundreds of thousands, the chant became, "Long live the workers!" Factories became battlegrounds and centers for debate. Strike committees took form.

Miners in heavily industrialized Northern Bohemia were among the first to pledge support for the strike. By November 22 delegations of workers from around the country began to arrive in Prague to join the demonstrations and announce their support. Electronics and steelworkers from Kladno, near Prague, came to the capital with a banner reading, "Kladno is with you," and hundreds of signatures on petitions from other workers supporting the strike call.

The mood of workers at the big CKD machine works on the outskirts of Prague, where turbines and compressors are produced, was typical. There workers voted overwhelmingly, 1,407 to 2, in favor of the strike action.

Shortly afterward several busloads of the "militia," the regime's organized thugs, occupied the plant in an attempt to prevent students from approaching the workers or distributing leaflets. By the next morning the workers' objections forced the withdrawal of the militia. Then a ruling Politburo member, Miroslav Stepan, appeared at the plant to persuade the workers to ignore the strike call.

Congress Youth Section Executive Committee members.

Also endorsing are the Revolutionary Young Communists of France, the vice-president of the United States Student Association, and members of the General Union of Palestinian Students and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

Participants also discussed the YSA's national fund drive and its importance in allowing the organization to respond to the growing political opportunities among youth today.

Portuguese revolutionary murdered

José Carvalho, a leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party in Portugal, was murdered on October 28 in front of the Lisbon offices of the organization.

Carvalho, 37, died after being stabbed by members of a gang of neo-Nazi skinheads during a rock concert at the PSR offices held as part of the antidraft campaign the party had been involved in over the past year.

A worker at a typewriter factory for 15 years, Carvalho joined the International Communist League, precursor of the PSR, in 1974 while in military service. He participated in the party's work among soldiers, and in 1975 helped to organize a broad struggle for democratic rights within the army.

Thousands of people attended his funeral, held 24 hours after his murder. Among those present were prominent leaders of the Com-



A contingent of maintenance workers join massive demonstration in Prague organized by students and opposition political groups. Their banner reads: "We are with you!"

Workers responded with shouts of "Resign! Resign!" In factories elsewhere, other CP members also became isolated as they argued against the strike.

On the day of the protest strike, the machine works became a forum as opposition leaders addressed workers about their ideas to overhaul the economy and overcome problems caused by deteriorating industries, declining labor productivity, and low economic growth.

Origins of the opposition

Just a few days after the massive mobilizations began, Civic Forum was formed by professionals, artists, and dissidents, some of whom were former CP members. The more prominent leaders are members of dissident groups known as Charter 77 and the Committee to Defend the Unjustly Persecuted, a political defense organization. Charter 77 was formed after a group of intellectuals signed a charter in 1977 calling on the government to grant democratic rights. Civic Forum has now grown to encompass representatives of students and workers.

Factory strike committees were asked by Civic Forum leaders to remain on alert following the strike should more pressure be needed to confront a regime reluctant to implement its promises. The workers' committees have also been asked to forward their suggestions to Civic Forum representatives.

"We consider the Civic Forum a temporary organization," Vaclav Havel, a prominent dissident and leader of the group said. "We hope we can dissolve it in the near future." Once free elections are held, Havel said, new political parties would be formed making the coalition unnecessary. The existing Socialist Party and People's Party, former allies of the CP, broke with the Stalinist regime under the impact of the wave of protests and lent support to the Civic Forum.

Czechoslovak CP leaders resisted Moscow's pressures to adopt glasnost- and per-

estroika-type policies to shore up their bureaucratic rule. Signals from the Kremlin helped encourage the popular rebellion. This contrasted to the Kremlin's action in 1968 when it ordered more than 650,000 Warsaw Pact troops to Czechoslovakia to crush a popular movement for democratic reforms.

Events shatter ruling group

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's manifesto favoring a "humane socialism" was published the day before the general strike. It echoed the "socialism with a human face" slogan popular in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 events.

On November 22 *Moscow News* published a prominent Soviet novelist's apology to the Czechoslovak people for the 1968 invasion calling it "collective murder." Earlier in November, a local Soviet TV station broadcast a sympathetic interview with Alexander Dubcek, the CP leader deposed during the Soviet occupation.

Confronted by the popular mobilizations, which developed with lightning speed, and the lack of support from Moscow, the regime had no perspective to meet the crisis. The CP, the political instrument of the bureaucracy's rule for more than 40 years, began to crumble. On November 24 the entire Politburo resigned. Some party organizations defected to the opposition, local party leaders resigned, and splits developed in the regime. *Rude Pravo*, the CP's main newspaper, spoke of the Central Committee's paralysis and the "political mummies" who dominate the leading circles. Czechoslovak TV began broadcasting demonstrations and opposition events live.

The Czechoslovak events occur as the privileged bureaucratic castes throughout Eastern Europe are racked by crisis and ruling Stalinist parties are disintegrating.

Only a few weeks ago the East German Socialist Unity Party (Communist Party) had its ranking officials driven from office by a massive protest movement. Multiparty elections are expected to be endorsed by a December 15 special SUP congress.

Despite discarding claims to being a Communist Party, the newly named Hungarian Socialist Party suffered a defeat at the polls on November 27. Voters rejected an attempt by the Stalinist party to arrange presidential elections so that it could have an advantage in a race against opposition parties.

The Bulgarian Communist Party boss Todor Zhivkov was dumped recently as party leaders scurried to prevent a repeat of the East German rebellion. Some of the more draconian laws against democratic rights have been dropped and an amnesty for political prisoners has been declared.

Having been reduced to a minority party in Poland, with the Solidarity trade union organization holding a majority of government posts, the Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party) now plans to hold a congress to revamp its program, dropping any pretensions to being a Communist Party.

New York strikers appeal to Hudson Gen'l workers

Some 8,500 International Association of Machinists (IAM) members struck Eastern Airlines March 4 in an effort to block the company's drive to break the union and impose massive concessions on workers.

Backed by flight attendants and pilots, the walkout crippled Eastern, grounding a big majority of its 1,040 prestrike daily flights.

Since July Eastern has been trying to restart operations. By November 1 it was scheduling 775 daily flights.

On November 22, the Air Line Pilots Association ended its support for the strike. The Transport

SUPPORT EASTERN STRIKERS!

Workers Union, which represents flight attendants, followed suit the next day.

The Eastern workers' fight has won broad support from working people in the United States and Canada. Readers — especially Eastern strikers — are encouraged to send news of strike solidarity activities to this column.

In New York more than 100 Eastern strikers and supporters from half a dozen unions turned out November 22 for special expanded picket lines at La Guardia Airport, targeting entrances where Hudson General workers enter and leave work.

Hudson General is an IAM-organized subcontracting company that does fueling, ramp, and cleaning work for Eastern and other airlines. In the past several months, strikers in New York and other cities have taken steps aimed

at informing workers at Hudson and other IAM-organized subcontracting companies about the strike and seeking their support.

The November 22 picketing was organized by striking Eastern Machinists' Local 1018 with the agreement of IAM officials at Hudson. A special leaflet explained the stakes in the fight at Eastern and urged Hudson workers not to cross the strikers' picket lines.

The picket lines were up before dawn, ready to meet Hudson workers at shift change. Drivers of the airport employee buses run by Hudson stopped at the picket lines, took leaflets, and said they would pass the word inside. Most Hudson workers were willing to talk to the pickets. Many took leaflets; some said they would try to talk to their union representatives about not doing struck work at Eastern. Some, however, would not talk to the pickets.

Minutes after the picket lines went up, cops were swarming all over the picket sites, harassing strike supporters about staying in

designated areas. The airport authority even hauled out barricades at one site.

Workers for other subcontracting companies — Marriott, Dobbs, Ogden Allied, Butler Aviation, and others — were also interested in what the strike supporters were doing. Many stopped and took leaflets, as did workers from United, American, and other airlines.

"Union members were angry because Hudson General workers are doing our work," said IAM Local 1018 member Gonzalo Solórzano, explaining why the picketing was organized. "We're out here to let people know we're on strike, and that they're crossing our picket lines." Local 1018 members have been raising this problem with IAM officials, Solórzano explained.

A dozen members of IAM Local 1056 from Trans World Airlines, mainly from Kennedy International Airport, came to help with the picketing. "We're out here to support our union brothers and sisters," said Local 1056 member Larry Dwyer, a TWA ramp worker. Several Local 1056 members had come over to the

strike headquarters after their union meeting the night before, caught a few hours sleep, and were up at 5:00 a.m., ready to head for the picket lines.

"Unions have to stick together," said Local 1056 member Dominic McGlashin, who also works on the ramp. "Without the unions, we'd be in even more trouble."

Another large group of picketers came from International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 3.

After shift change, many picketers went over to the main terminal to beef up the Eastern strikers' regular picket lines. November 22 was the day before Thanksgiving — one of the busiest travel days of the year — and the airport was teeming with passengers. Loud chants from the picketers let thousands of passengers and other airport and airline workers know the strikers are continuing their fight.

A chanting, cheering crowd of 1,500 unionists rallied in the Boston Teachers Union hall November 15 to

support workers on strike at Eastern, Pittston Coal company, and NYNEX telephone company. Half the workers there were strikers, including a group from a local Teamsters' strike at Kraft/S.S. Pierce.

The rally began after a contingent of Communications Workers of America members, on strike at NYNEX in Lynn, entered the hall singing "Solidarity Forever." "Never have I been so proud," said CWA Local 302 member Nancy Bangstrom. "I'm ready to walk back in with my head held high." The rally took place a few days after the tentative regional settlement in the NYNEX strike had been announced.

Charles Bryan, President of IAM District 100, which represents striking Eastern Machinists in the United States and Canada, also spoke.

United Mine Workers of America representative Tim Baker brought the crowd to its feet as he recounted the battle against Pittston. "We're not slowing down," Baker said. "We have a goal. We're only going back when we have the contract we want signed."

Cheers also greeted Myles Calvey, leader of IBEW Local 2222, whose 6,000 members waged a militant strike against NYNEX. "After 104 days on strike, where untold sacrifices were made, houses were sold, and two strikers paid with their lives, we have a victory," he said, referring to the tentative regional pact. "This strike has proven if you believe in the union, you can win. Let's continue the fight by supporting the Eastern strikers. Let's support the Pittston strikers until they win too."

The rally was called by the Massachusetts AFL-CIO.

Russell Davis from Boston contributed to this column.



Workers from a half a dozen unions turned out before dawn to help Eastern strikers picket Hudson General at La Guardia Airport November 22, including a Communications Workers of America member on strike at NYNEX telephone company (third from left).

Toronto airport workers back Eastern Machinists

BY ROGER ANNIS

TORONTO — Of the 8,500 Machinists union members who walked off the job at Eastern last March in a fight to defend their union, 25 are here, walking the picket line at Pearson International Airport.

Every Saturday and Sunday morning, pickets go up for several hours at the Eastern counter in Terminal 1. Workers from other airlines stop by to hear the latest news on the strike.

From the beginning, solidarity by other unionized airline workers has hampered Eastern's ability to operate in and out of Toronto.

"Cooperation from the other unions here has been good," explained striking Eastern shop steward Lawrence Seymour. "Before the strike began, we went around to the unions at Air Canada, Canadian Airlines, Hudson General, Consolidated Fuels, and CARA. They agreed to not handle Eastern work. So far that's held up pretty well." Hudson General is a service company that subcontracts with airlines to handle fueling, ramp, and cleaning work; CARA is a catering company.

When Eastern resumed flights to Toronto in early July, a bulletin was circulated from the International Association of Machinists restating the union's decision to refuse to handle all Eastern work. As a result, fueling and food catering of Eastern planes is handled by supervisors from the service companies. Cleaning and ramp work is done by nonunion Eastern workers. Some worked at the Eastern ticket counter and office prior to the strike; others have been hired since March 4.

Eastern now has five flights daily in and out of Toronto. Before the strike there were eight.

The October 1989 *Load Sheet*, the bulletin of the IAM local at Canadian Airlines in Toronto, reports on a recent struggle with the company over the handling of Eastern transfer baggage and mail. The company has been forced to agree that all such handling be

performed by supervisors only.

Bill Shipman, president of IAM Local 2323 at Air Canada in Toronto, reported on the progress of the strikes at Eastern Airlines and Boeing in the October issue of the local's bulletin, *Contact*.

The recent IAM District 148 convention, which represents Air Canada workers across Canada, heard a detailed account of the Eastern strike from newly elected IAM International President George Kourpias, Shipman reports. About 75 delegates attended the convention, held in Calgary, Alberta.

Even with the solidarity that has been shown with Eastern workers, many airport workers in Toronto are unaware of the strike or assume it is over. The company is using this to try to "normalize" its operations. It has begun to hire part-time workers for ramp service work. Newer employees at Hudson General and Consolidated Fuels have recently been seen working on Eastern aircraft.

Hudson workers discuss strike

Earlier in the strike, some Hudson workers who accepted part-time work at Eastern were convinced by the union to resign these positions in solidarity with Eastern workers.

Kevin, an Eastern striker now working at Canadian Airlines, said he thought more union information bulletins were needed for workers at Hudson and Consolidated to explain that the strike is still on and what the issues are.

The recent hiring at Eastern has sparked some discussions among Hudson workers about the Eastern strike. Hudson laid off scores of workers in mid-November as a result of the takeover of Wardair, Canada's third largest airline, by Canadian Airlines.

Some Hudson workers have applied for ramp work at Eastern, which is paying \$8.10 per hour. That's 50 cents more per hour than the starting rate at Hudson and \$1 more than the recently organized workers at AMR Services, American Airlines' service company.

One senior Hudson worker had a discussion with a newer worker who had applied at Eastern. "See those new employees at AMR? They're starting at \$7.10 per hour. All the airlines would like to get us down to that wage," the senior worker said. "And once we're there, they'll try to take us all down even further. That's what the Eastern workers are on strike against and I'm supporting them like you wouldn't believe."

Over that past 10 years, Canada's two major airlines, Air Canada and Canadian Airlines, have been on a drive to lower their labor costs. There has been a massive intro-

duction of part-time work, at a lower wage rate and with fewer benefits than full-time workers receive. And they have introduced a multi-tier wage rate for newly hired workers, beginning at almost one-half the full rate and taking more than four years to reach the top.

That's a major reason many airline workers are following the progress of the Eastern strike.

"There's no question about the importance of the Eastern strike for all airline workers," said Local 2323 President Shipman. "The airline bosses are watching this strike closely and will try to follow Lorenzo's example."

Books from Cuba arrive at Pathfinder for distribution

BY JON HILLSON

NEW YORK — A victory for opponents of Washington's economic blockade of Cuba was scored November 14 when U.S. customs officials at John F. Kennedy airport released nearly one ton of books and pamphlets from Cuba for distribution in the United States and other countries through Pathfinder Press.

Until this year, importing Cuban books and periodicals — like other Cuban goods — was virtually illegal under conditions of the U.S. trade and economic blockade imposed in the early 1960s.

A change in U.S. legislation, however, has opened a small breach in the embargo, making it possible for U.S. publishers to sign contracts to publish books by Cuban authors, to import and distribute literature printed in Cuba, and to export books from the United States to Cuba.

The 43 cartons imported by Pathfinder, a New York-based publisher, is one of the biggest shipments of books from Cuba to arrive in the United States in many years.

Most of the more than 40 titles are in Spanish. They include *Che periodista*, a new anthology of Ernesto Che Guevara's journalism; *Discursos escogidos: 1979-1983*, the collected speeches of the slain leader of the Grenada revolution, Maurice Bishop; *El pensamiento económico de Ernesto Che Guevara* by Carlos Tablada, the prize-winning 1987 book on Guevara's concepts of the economic and social development of revolutionary society.

Works in Spanish by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin, along with those of Cuban independence fighter José Martí, are among the available books.

Several recent pamphlets featuring interviews with Fidel Castro in English, French, and Spanish are in the initial shipment.

Many of these books will be available soon at Pathfinder bookstores around the world (see directory on page 12).

To order a list of books from Cuba write: Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Sales drive success is sign of interest in socialist politics

10,501 new readers internationally

BY JON HILLSON

Important progress was registered in the recently concluded nine-week international campaign to enlist 9,000 new readers to the *Militant* and four other socialist publications.

Distributors worldwide sold a combined total of 10,501 subscriptions to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *Lutte ouvrière* and individual copies of *New International* and *Nouvelle Internationale*.

This is 117 percent of the goal of 9,000 and includes 7,163 12-week subscriptions to the *Militant*, 1,300 more than initially projected.

Distributors in Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, Sweden, and the United States topped their targets.

These advances are a barometer of the interest among working people, particularly those engaged in struggle, in learning more about socialist politics.

Labor battles by Eastern Airlines workers and coal miners supporting the Pittston strike stimulated sales to these fighters and those struggling alongside them. Some 1,300 new subscribers in the United States and Canada indicated that they are unionists.

Members of the International Association of Machinists, the union on strike against Eastern, bought nearly 250 subscriptions on airport picket lines, at solidarity demonstrations, in union halls, and on the job.

About 150 members of the United Mine Workers of America signed up to get the socialist newsweekly for at least 12 weeks.

Three U.S. coalfield teams sold 96 subscriptions to UMWA members with trips into western Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, southern Illinois, western Kentucky, and Virginia — selling in trailer parks, at mine portals, and local eateries.

A three-day international effort netted 17 new UMWA readers on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. These and other local experiences indicate that subscriptions can also regularly be sold at plant gates.

Receptivity to the *Militant* was enhanced by two important strikes through which additional new readers were won: the strike of IAM-organized workers at Boeing and the one by Communications Workers of America members against the regional telephone companies, especially the NYNEX strike in New England and New York.

Distributors from Austin, Minnesota, and Minneapolis-St. Paul organized several teams to International Falls in the far north of the state. It was there that striking con-

struction workers at the big Boise Cascade paper mill near the Canadian border, along with their supporters, overran an in-plant scab housing project in September. The teams sold 69 subscriptions to construction, paper, and other workers in International Falls and Ft. Frances, Ontario, the site of another Boise Cascade mill.

Stock market dive

Concern among working people sparked by the dive of Wall Street prices on October 13 — within a week of the second anniversary of the 1987 crash — fueled interest in the *Militant's* analysis of the capitalist economic crisis, and how it's going to get much worse. Sales of *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*, a pamphlet published by Pathfinder, increased following the Wall Street price plunge.

The drive was also boosted by the fight to defend abortion rights. Hundreds of activists bought subscriptions leading up to and at prochoice demonstrations held November 12.

Distributors reported heightened interest in the Cuban revolution as a major selling point in winning new readers, especially students and young people.

Nearly 1,400 new readers are college students, sales to whom reflected the success of



Selling *Militant* subscriptions to Colorado coal miners. Three U.S. coalfield teams sold 96 subscriptions to miners' union members.

regular campus tables, occasional regional teams, and efforts by student members of the Young Socialist Alliance, like those at the State University of New York at Binghamton who signed up 41 new readers.

While the international drive made its goal for *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language monthly, U.S. distributors fell short of their target by nine subscriptions.

Distributors were inspired to sell *New International*, the journal of Marxist politics, because of the reissue of No. 5 and No. 6. The former features articles on the "Coming Revolution in South Africa" while the latter presents two speeches on Cuba's rectification process by Fidel Castro, including the exclusive publication of "Renewal Or Death."

Going over the *New International* goal was

"a first ever" in Oakland, California, reports a distributor from there. This was achieved after one distributor sold five copies of the magazine at a meeting for touring Cuban artist Aldo Soler, "and suddenly we started selling them everywhere. The new covers helped. We sold on the job, at tables, door to door."

Over 300 subscriptions to *Lutte ouvrière*, the French-language quarterly, were sold, marking progress. But this figure lagged by 20 percent of the goal accepted by distributors, indicating the continuing challenge of reaching out to French-speaking workers and students with the magazine.

Supporters of the international drive sold 25 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions in Puerto Rico and 16 in Mexico.

South Africa cops attack rail strike

BY RUTH HASWELL

CARDIFF, Wales — South African police shot and killed a striking rail worker November 17. On the same day, 400 other striking workers employed by the state-owned South African Transport Services (SATS) were fired. Since the strike began two weeks ago, some 2,300 have been fired by the company.

The rail workers, who had been fighting to make SATS negotiate with their union, walked off the job in the Johannesburg area November 1. Workers in Cape Town, Durban, and most towns in the province of Natal also downed their tools. The South African Railway and Harbour Workers Union (SARHWU) estimates that 40,000 of its members are now on strike.

In 1987 a strike by 14,000 rail workers virtually paralyzed the transport system throughout Johannesburg. During the strike eight SARHWU members were killed. Four more are on death row on charges relating to the deaths of four scabs.

One of the central issues that provoked the November 1 walkout was the escalating wave of firings of union members. According to SARHWU more than 1,000 workers from around the country have been dismissed since September. These include union shop stewards.

South African Transport Services management imposed a new disciplinary code in September and used it as a basis for the massive firings.

SARHWU general secretary Martin Sebakwane said the workers feel the dismissals were hidden layoffs, linked to the bosses' plans to privatize portions of the transport system. The union opposes these moves.

SATS also reneged on an interim agreement signed in September recognizing the union. The company then broke off all negotiations. In addition to the issues of the dismissals and union recognition, SARHWU is also pressing for a wage hike. Wages now stand at 600 rand a month (R1 = 38 U.S. cents) for Black workers. The union is demanding an increase in the minimum wage to R1,500 a month.

The shooting of the striking worker was the culmination of a string of violent attacks against strikers since the walkout began.

One worker was stabbed with a reinforced steel rod and another shot and wounded. Still another striker was stabbed while assisting a wounded fellow worker.

Sebakwane explained that SARHWU is seeking an urgent order to prevent SATS staff from assaulting more strikers. He pointed out that although provoked, the workers were exercising restraint on the picket line.

Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), speaking at an annual gathering of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain on November 26 gave a description of the situation in Durban. "Last week," he said, "workers at a railway station were attacked by police acting as ticket collectors. A number of workers were injured and a number of police also. The police then followed the union members into their union offices and brutally assaulted them."

"The police went away, but later returned with machine guns, iron rods, and batons. Three unionists have been shot and scores injured."

Messages protesting the repression against the strikers can be sent to Anton Moolman, General Manager, SATS, Private Box X47, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa. Send letters of support and copies of protests to SARHWU, c/o SACTU, 8 Flowers Mews (off Archway Close), London N19 3TB, England.

Ruth Haswell is a member of the National Union of Railwaymen in Britain.

Labor fights, coalfield activities discussed

Continued from Page 3

orientation of the party, including continuing reinforcement of SWP branches in the coal-mining regions with the aim of increasing the number of socialist activists in the mines.

Activists also agreed to step up efforts to win support for Mark Curtis, a packinghouse worker, political activist, and unionist framed and jailed in Iowa. Victimization by the bosses, government, cops, and courts is something many miners are familiar with. Many have been and can be won to the defense effort.

One of the British miners at the conference, a member of the National Union of Mineworkers, noted the importance of expected legislation allowing women into the mines in Britain and the discussions taking place on this. He expressed appreciation in being able to talk with and learn from U.S. women miners.

Participants agreed on the importance of using the socialist press, books, and other materials as weapons, urging efforts be made to get them out as widely as possible. More than a dozen volunteers signed up to be part of upcoming sales teams in the western and eastern coalfields.

Pathfinder Fund over the top!

Pathfinder Press publishes writings and speeches by communist and working-class fighters such as Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, Malcolm X, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, Nelson Mandela, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Leon Trotsky.

To carry out its ambi-

tious program of publishing and promotion of revolutionary books and pamphlets, Pathfinder launched a \$150,000 fund in August.

With a couple of days to go before the December 1 deadline, the fund is over the top. So far \$150,035 has been collected. The final total will appear in next week's *Militant*.

\$150,035!

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

☐ I wish to pledge \$ _____ toward the fund.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Province _____

Zip/Postal Code _____ Country _____

Clip and send to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Mark Curtis describes his first parole hearing

BY MARK CURTIS

ANAMOSA, Iowa — My first annual parole hearing was held in a large room here on November 8 at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory. Three members of the Iowa Board of Parole, which is appointed by the governor, conduct the hearings at this prison two days a month.

Others present at the hearing included my prison counselor, the prison's Treatment Director, and a guard. The parents of the young woman I was falsely accused and convicted of raping were also present, although they took no part in the proceedings while I was there.

The board members began the hearing by asking me how I was doing and what I was involved in. I explained my participation in the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization,

BEHIND PRISON WALLS

an inmate's group; my studies in Spanish, math, and history at the prison's school; my certification in welding after finishing the program; and my involvement in the basketball leagues and other athletic programs.

Board members reported that they had received several letters favoring parole for me, which they said "was good." They also told me that more than a dozen of my supporters were in a prison lounge area just outside the prison gate watching the hearing on closed-circuit TV. The letters and the presence of supporters impressed them.

According to the board no major disciplinary reports appeared on my record. I actually received a disciplinary report earlier this year in retaliation for a campaign I am waging to receive Spanish-language books and magazines. But after I appealed and my supporters launched a protest campaign, the prison authorities dropped the report and restored my rights.

One board member mentioned that my counselor made positive statements about me. I also had excellent reports for jobs I held in the license plate shop and the prison's commissary.

Despite this positive review, the board decided to accept the recommendations of the prison's classification committee and my counselor that I not be paroled at this time. The board members said I had not done enough time on my 25-year sentence.

I was prepared for the board's decision, but did not accept it and argued for my release. My sentence, I pointed out, did not carry a required minimum amount of time spent in prison before becoming eligible for parole. I am eligible for parole now. My time here serves no useful purpose, I said, and added that I am the same person that I was when I entered prison and would not be pushed away from political

activity.

When I began to detail the facts in my case, the board members stopped me and explained they were acting on the premise that I was guilty as charged. They said they were not going to review my case. Two board members are attorneys and told me the best avenue for review of my case was the appeals process.

When asked how long they considered "enough time" to be, a board member said the average length of time served on a sentence of 25 years is six years. He said he expected me to do "less than the average."

I asked them to move me to a minimum security jail or a work-release center where I could enjoy more freedoms, time with my family and friends, and work a regular job. People misunderstand the role of the parole board, they said. The board could only recommend such a move, but Department of Corrections officials would have to make such a decision. I requested a recommendation. At this point they hesitated and appeared uncomfortable, and then said no.

Even though I was not released, the hearing was positive. The board acknowledged the campaign for my freedom. They were unable to cite any reasons to deny parole, including character faults or misbehavior. Their tone lacked hostility. The growing campaign by the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and its supporters on my behalf brought this about.

My continuing political work and the facts of my frame-up are well known here by inmates and jailers alike. I am not isolated, forgotten, friendless, "on ice," or demoralized as those who put me in prison had hoped. So, I had a lot going for me that day.

Before the hearing, several fellow inmates warned me not to get my hopes up. Most of them have mixed feelings about parole hearings, which are five-minute affairs for many and often end in disappointment. A friend told me that the parole board even yells at some inmates.

Still, to win an early release, everyone must go through the parole board, and so hope always remains. Besides having one's conviction overturned on appeal or being paroled, the only other way out of prison is to discharge, "flatten out," your sentence by serving time until half of the sentence is served minus good conduct time earned. Right now my discharge date is in the year 2000.

Prior to my hearing, several men indicated their support for me. A good friend led several believers in prayer on my behalf at the prison chapel.

After the hearing everyone wanted to know what had happened. Some were disappointed, a few were cynical, but most were encouraged when they heard about the support I received. They were impressed when I showed them copies of the letters written to the parole board by prominent labor, Black, civil rights, and women's rights activists.

Last month my classification was changed from Level IV to Level V, and I was transferred to a new cell house. There are six levels in the Level Incentive Program here. The higher the level, the more privileges you are entitled to. The best privilege in here is being able to make phone calls, a privilege only those in levels V and VI have. We are allowed five 12-minute calls each month. Another benefit is being allowed longer visits, four hours on weekdays and three hours on weekends.

Level V cell house has been remodeled over the last decade and is the most modern in this nearly 100-year-old prison. Each cell is 10-by-11 feet with 12-foot ceilings. There is a toilet, and a hot and cold water sink. The cells have a large fluorescent light. This is much bigger than the four-by-nine foot cells in Level IV, which only have cold water and a 60-watt light bulb. Cement block walls, metal doors, and windows facing inside and outside make for a more human environment in Level V cells. Level IV cells have crumbling plaster walls, iron bar doors, and are windowless.

There are two, three, or four bunks per cell on Level V. I share a cell with two Black men from Waterloo, Iowa. Floyd is in his 40s, and Bruce is in his 20s. We have known each other for a while, and now we are good friends. As the new man, I had to take the top bunk, which is a climb I'm still getting used to. We have a triple bunk, four shelves, three small cabinets, a desk, and two chairs.

Having roommates is a welcome change after a year of rooming alone, although it is a little trickier finding quiet time for my reading and studying. Every night we watch television, play board games, tell jokes, and have discussions.

I am not fighting for my release on the basis of being a "model prisoner." I continue to be involved in fights for rights here. These have included the right to communicate and maintain contact with the outside world in Spanish, French, and other languages and the rights of prisoners to share literature. It includes the fight against racism here and beyond the prison walls as part of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Organization; for the religious and cultural rights of Native American prisoners; and for everything that expands our ability to organize to better our conditions.

This also means doing everything I can to help lead and to be part of the efforts of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee to overturn the police frame-up that put me here.

Mark Curtis is a unionist and political activist serving a 25-year sentence at the Iowa State Men's Reformatory in Anamosa on a 1988 frame-up rape and burglary conviction. (See page 4 for more information on the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and activities organized by Curtis' supporters.)

Workers Party in 2nd round of Brazil elections

PT candidate Lula will face Collor in December 17 run-off.

BY MARCELO ZUGADI

SÃO PAULO, Brazil — With the backing of the workers in the large industrial complexes and the poor peasants of northern and northeastern Brazil, Luis Inacio "Lula" da Silva, a union leader and former machinist, came in second in the first round of voting in the presidential race here. The second round will take place December 17.

Lula has the support of the Workers Party (PT), a mass party, and of the 15-million member United Workers Federation. Of the 21 candidates, he received 16 percent of the vote, coming in second after the candidate most favored by the Brazilian capitalists, Fernando Collor de Mello of the National Reconstruction Party. Collor received 28 percent of the vote.

The winner will replace José Sarney, who in 1985 became the first civilian head of state in 21 years.

The elections are taking place in the context of the attempt by U.S. imperialism and the capitalists in South America over the past decade to replace military dictatorships with "democratic" governments. They aim, by constitutional means, to carry out the same antilabor policies previously imposed through repression by the military regimes.

Brazil is facing particularly acute economic difficulties. It has a monthly inflation rate of 40 percent and with a population of 145 million people, 40 million live in absolute poverty. Two out of three people suffer malnutrition, and 20 million children live in the streets. Brazil's foreign debt to imperialist bankers stands at over \$120 billion.

Lula ran as the candidate of the Brazilian Popular Front — which includes the PT, the Socialist Party of Brazil, and the ex-Maoist Communist Party of Brazil.

The PT, founded 10 years ago by a group of trade union leaders, activists of various left groups, and left-wing Catholics, had shown its vote-getting potential in the November 1988 local elections where it won 36 district offices — including the office of mayor in the country's largest city and main industrial center, São Paulo. It also won more than 1,000 municipal seats and dozens of state and federal deputy posts.

Lula's showing at the polls is to a great extent due to the work carried out by the United Workers Federation, founded six years ago by the PT, hundreds of grassroots church groups headed by Catholic priests who subscribe to "liberation theology," and peasant organizations.

Contradictory position

While the PT won a high percentage of the vote in many northeastern parts of the country, totals for its candidates were not as high as expected in many of the districts governed since January by PT elected officials. This reflects the PT's difficulties in resolving the contradiction between advocating radical policies and taking responsibility for municipal administrations within the framework of a system where state and national governments are in the hands of the capitalist parties.

After 10 months in office, the PT local administrations have obtained meager results in implementing policies that will benefit working people.

At its sixth national gathering, held last June to map out the final stages of its electoral campaign, the PT acknowledged that in the municipal governments the party had shown itself "below the extraordinary expectations that society, especially the popular classes, has of the PT governments."

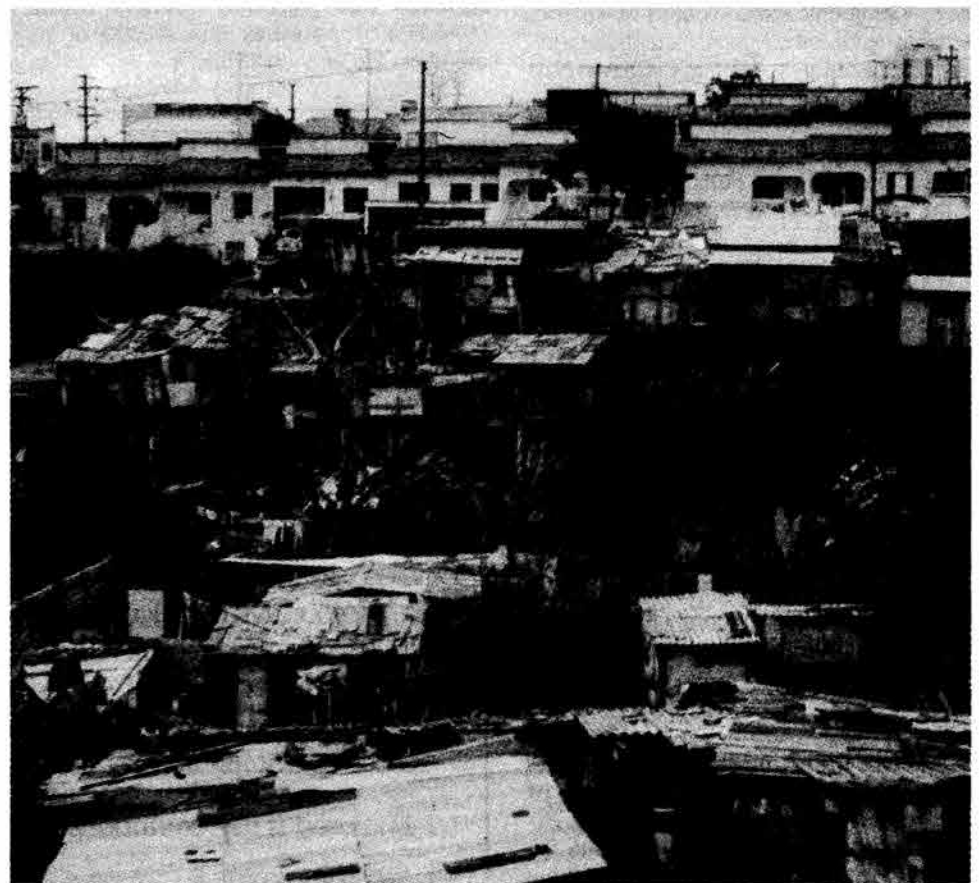
The PT resolution stated, "We still lack a more defined administrative political program, capable of polarizing and mobilizing the popular masses politically and socially in the tasks of everyday life."

Referring to the economic and political

situation, the PT stated, "While it is true that the crisis is real, there should also be no doubt that at this time the rule of the bourgeoisie has not reached a dead end. . . . At the same time that an extraordinary development of the productive forces of the Brazilian capitalist economy has taken place, an anticapital-

ist program of their own."

The struggle for governmental power, the PT states, "is linked with our policy of accumulation of forces and the fight for hegemony in society. Any deviation from this line, can lead to the adventurist position of placing the taking of power on today's agenda, or



São Paulo slum. Of Brazil's 145 million people, 40 million live in absolute poverty.

ist consciousness has yet to develop."

The current stage, the PT document pointed out, "is characterized by a rise in the social and political struggle of the workers, by the construction of their class struggle organizations, and by the initiation of a po-

lead to the political disaster of attempting to reform or administer capitalism."

In the second round of voting Lula and Collor will each be entitled to 20 minutes a day of national radio and television time between November 28 and December 14.

Founders of Iranian Communist Party on Pathfinder Mural

BY AHMAD HEYDARI

NEW YORK — Portraits of three founders of the Communist Party of Iran are on the Pathfinder Mural, which was dedicated here November 19. They were recently painted by Mary Sears, a New York worker and artist. The three communist leaders are Ahmad Sultanzadeh (Avetis Mikaelian), Haydar Amoghli, and Jafar Pishevari. They join the portraits of two other Iranian anti-imperialist fighters, Sattar Khan and Baqer Khan, who were painted on the six-story mural last year.

Sultanzadeh, born to an Armenian family in Iran, went to tsarist Russia in 1904 to study. Three years later he joined the Caucasus Social Democratic Party. In 1912 he joined the Bolshevik Party.

During the Russian revolution of 1917, Sultanzadeh played a leading role in founding the Adalat (Justice) party as a component of the Bolshevik organization in the city of Baku, on the Caspian Sea. The Adalat party was based on the Iranian oil workers there. It immediately joined the battle to defend the revolutionary Soviet government against the

is on the mural is Haydar Amoghli. As a youth in the 1890s, Amoghli emigrated to tsarist Russia with his family. In 1904 he helped to found the Social Democratic Party of Iran in Baku. Like the Adalat party later, it was centered among the many oil workers from Iran, who were mostly Azerbaijanis.

Amoghli played a prominent role in the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-09 in Iran, which was inspired by the 1905 Russian revolution and strived to end the shah's autocracy and safeguard the country's independence against tsarist Russia and British imperialism. He helped to organize a Social Democratic group in Tehran, Iran's capital. When the shah, with the help of tsarist Russian officers, staged his bloody coup and established a reign of terror, Amoghli escaped to the Caucasus.

Sattar Khan and Baqer Khan in the Azerbaijani city of Tabriz refused to capitulate to the shah. From two small neighborhoods of Tabriz they, along with a nucleus of Social Democratic party members, waged an armed resistance against the shah's forces and began to revitalize the Mujahedeen (also called Fedayeen) organizations to liberate the city. Amoghli helped to raise funds, buy armaments, and organize contingents of revolutionaries in the Caucasus for the fight in Tabriz. He later came to the city himself to join the struggle.

After the shah's armies were defeated, Amoghli returned to Tehran to continue political work under new conditions. Although the autocracy had been overthrown, Russian and British imperialists had intervened to rob the people of their victory and the possessing classes and landed aristocracy still dominated the government. Amoghli was forced to leave Iran in 1911 and continued his political activity in tsarist Russia and Europe.

Amoghli joined the CPI at its 1920 founding congress in Enzeli and became one of its central leaders. He

was a delegate of the CPI to the Congress of the Peoples of the East held in Baku the same year, and served on the presidium of the congress.

Soviet Republic of Gilan

At that time the CPI was in a coalition government in the Soviet Republic of Gilan, established after the Red Army drove the British forces from that region northwest of Tehran. The government was headed by Mirza Kuchek Khan Jangali, a nationalist and Islamic cleric who had led a guerrilla movement against the British in Gilan. A rift soon developed between the CPI and Mirza Kuchek Khan. Among other differences, Mirza opposed land confiscations of large owners for the benefit of the peasantry.

As the Gilan movement became more isolated, the rift deepened and Mirza became more hostile to the communists. Amoghli was imprisoned and executed by Mirza's followers in September 1921.

Third portrait

The third Iranian communist on the mural is Jafar Pishevari, born in 1893. Like the other two, he immigrated to tsarist Russia as a youth. One of the founders of the Adalat party, he edited its paper *Hurriet*.

After the Enzeli congress in 1920 he was assigned to Tehran to lead the party's trade union work. He helped to organize the Central Council of Federated Trade Unions and edited its paper. He was arrested in 1930 in the wake of Reza Shah's offensive against democratic rights and working-class organizations and spent 11 years in prison. In 1941 after allied troops occupied the country, Pishevari was freed.

When he was released, the CPI had already



onslaught of counterrevolutionary forces. In the heat of this fight, the party extended its influence throughout the region, and its membership rose to 6,000.

Enzeli congress

After the Red Army drove the British imperialist forces from northern Iran in 1920, the party held its first congress in Enzeli and changed its name to the Communist Party of Iran (CPI).

Sultanzadeh was a central figure in the Enzeli congress, which approved theses on the immediate tasks and perspectives of the revolution in Iran. He was elected as the national secretary of the party.

After the party congress, Sultanzadeh attended the Second Congress of the Communist International in Moscow and served on the commission that drew up the congress' "Theses on the National and Colonial Question." The congress elected him to the Executive Committee of the International.

Sultanzadeh helped to build the CPI into a working-class party that was deeply involved in the trade unions.

The second and last congress of the CPI was held in Urmiah in 1927 and adopted a program to mobilize the working people against the proimperialist tyranny of Reza Shah, the monarch of Iran. As political repression intensified, Sultanzadeh, along with most of the other party central committee members, were forced into exile in the Soviet Union. The communist leader was subsequently imprisoned in the Soviet Union during Joseph Stalin's purges and was executed in 1938. At least three other central leaders of the CPI were also executed and the organization was destroyed.

Another founder of the CPI whose portrait



Militant/Margrethe Siem

Portraits of Ahmad Sultanzadeh (left), Jafar Pishevari (center), and Haydar Amoghli were added to mural just before its dedication.

been destroyed by Stalin and Pishevari did not join the newly created Stalinist Tudeh Party. He did not consider it revolutionary and criticized it for not supporting the national rights of the oppressed Azerbaijani people.

Azerbaijan republic

In 1945 Pishevari organized the Azerbaijan Democrat Firgasi (Azerbaijan Democratic Party), which came to be known as Firga.

Firga's central campaign was for Azerbaijan self-determination and to that end issued a call for elections to the provincial national *anjoman* (council). Working people responded positively and mobilized for the elections, but they were brutalized by police, gendarmes, and agents of the large landowners.

Firga called on the people to defend themselves. Helped by Soviet troops, armed militias (Fedayeen) comprised of peasants and workers overran the shah's gendarmes in the countryside and his armies in the cities of Azerbaijan. By the end of 1945 the workers and peasants had established their own government headed by Pishevari in Azerbaijan. Immediately a deep-going land reform was inaugurated and women in Azerbaijan gained the right to vote and be elected for the first time in Iran.

The Azerbaijani language (Azeri Turkish), which had been declared illegal by the central government under Reza Shah was taught in schools for the first time in decades.

The Firga government immediately instituted economic policies that helped to improve the living conditions of working people.

The Kurds also drove out the shah's armies

and established their own government. Workers in the British-controlled oil industry in the south of Iran began strikes that took on a political character and rallied the workers all over the country.

However, a revolutionary government like the one in Azerbaijan wasn't established in the country as a whole. Leaders of the Tudeh Party joined the cabinet of Prime Minister Gavam who was trying to buy time for the capitalist regime against the revolution. Gavam negotiated with Stalin and promised to give the Soviet Union the concession for the unexploited oil fields in the northern part of the country after the internal situation became stabilized. Imperialist governments increasingly put pressure on the Soviet Union to help dismantle the revolutionary government in Azerbaijan. In the fall of 1946 the Tudeh ministers in the Gavam government were forced to resign and the shah started to move against Azerbaijan cautiously, testing every step on his way.

Betrayed by Stalin

Pishevari called on the Azerbaijani people to rise and repeat the heroic experience of the 1905-09 revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow opposed any resistance and got a majority in the Firga leadership to renounce it in the name of "avoiding bloodshed." Thus betrayed, the shah crushed the revolutionary government without a battle. Thousands of workers and peasants throughout Azerbaijan were executed. The Kurdish republic was also smashed by the shah's troops and similar executions took place.

Shortly after these defeats the intransigent Pishevari died in prison in the Soviet Union under conditions that many regard as an assassination by Stalin's agents.

Protests win restoration of federal funds for AIDS art

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

NEW YORK — Close to 1,000 people gathered outside the Artists Space gallery in lower Manhattan on November 16 to attend the opening of the art show "Witnesses: Against Our Vanishing" and to protest an attempt by the National Endowment for the Arts to withhold a \$10,000 grant for the exhibit.

"Witnesses: Against Our Vanishing" expresses the personal reflections of New York artists on the impact of AIDS on their lives.

The denial of funding for the show was the first application of a new federal law authored by Sen. Jesse Helms forbidding appropriations for art that may be considered "obscene" or not "deemed to have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."

John Frohnmayer, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, justified the funding cutoff by characterizing the show as political. The show's catalog, which contained an essay against censorship and critical of Helms and other political figures, was a focus of the censorship attack.

"This is a question of freedom of speech," Susan Wyatt, the executive director of Artists Space said. "I believe art is a form of speech,

of personal expression, and that our freedom of expression must be protected."

Protests against the proposed funding cut mounted over several days, including prominent conductor and composer Leonard Bernstein refusing to accept the National Medal of Arts from President George Bush.

Frohnmayer backed down. Eight days after announcing that he was withholding the grant, he reapproved it with a condition that the money be spent only for the exhibit and not for the accompanying catalog.

Another art exhibit about AIDS called "Images and Words: Artists Respond to AIDS" that was to open on December 1 in New York was withdrawn. Administrators of the gallery refused the artists permission to display a banner on the building's facade with the words "All people with AIDS are innocent."

Barbara Tate, chief administrator of the Arts for Living Center of the Henry Street Settlement, reportedly told the exhibit's curator that the banner was too political and that, in her estimation, those who produced the banner were not artists. The show has not received public funding.

Dec. 8 actions will back Eastern strike

Continued from front page

their strike. Some strikers heard about ALPA's decision at home, on the television and radio news. "The phone at the union hall was buzzing from strikers calling in to see if it was true," said IAM Local 1776 member Josefina Otero from Philadelphia.

On the picket lines, IAM members tried to find pilots who knew what was happening. Pickets were dispatched over to ALPA offices to get more information. It quickly became clear that the reports were accurate.

ALPA's decision came a day after President George Bush vetoed legislation that would have created a congressional commission to investigate the strike and propose solutions for ending it. For months officials of ALPA, TWU, and the IAM had lobbied heavily for the establishment of this "blue-ribbon" panel.

As Machinists talked over how to respond to ALPA and TWU's decision to pull down their pickets, initial reactions of disbelief and disappointment gave way to renewed commitment to the strike.

A group of six IAM members was on picket duty at Washington, D.C.'s National Airport the night of November 22. "I don't believe the pilots will do this to us," said one mechanic when the news began to come out.

"I can believe it," responded a striking ramp worker. "You know, the pilots are not like us. They came out with us at the beginning when we weren't sure they would. Now it's the Machinists. Now we're alone — and we're going to stick it out."

Many Machinists at other strike centers agreed.

"We should be proud of the way the pilots came out and most proud of the flight attendants, who were the least prepared, received no strike benefits, and stayed strong," said striker Bob Evans, a ramp worker in Philadelphia with 22 years at Eastern.

"I just think what they did in going back is a big mistake. It's a blow to solidarity and a plus for Lorenzo, and I'm disappointed," Evans said. "The ALPA leadership is saying the pilots can go back with their heads held high, but from where I'm standing, it looks like they're going back with their tails between their legs."

"Our strike is not over by a long shot," he stated. "When the commission was vetoed by Bush, it just made me more determined."

Frank Lorenzo is the chairman of Texas Air Corp., which owns both Eastern and Continental airlines.

Strikers are trying to figure out what the pilots and flight attendants have to gain by going back after so long on the picket lines, especially because Eastern says there are no jobs currently available for either group of workers.

"It might just be a legal maneuver," said ramp worker Garnett Pannell. He was on the picket line at National Airport a few days

after the announcement. Another striker, Everett Brown, disagreed. "What kind of pressure can they put on Frank Lorenzo if they return to work?"

A third striker, Bob Maske, explained that the pilots and flight attendants "supported us in the beginning and that support helped us. But as it stands now, it's a battle that the Machinists will have to fight." "Things look bad," added Brown, "but we have to keep fighting."

"We're still on strike," said Mitch, who worked at Eastern's air freight operations in Miami before the strike. "It was good to have the pilots and flight attendants with us. But it's always been an IAM strike, and we're still on strike."

Many pilots and flight attendants were as surprised as the Machinists to hear the announcement.

An Eastern pilot who has been active in the strike in Louisville, Kentucky, said other pilots he talked to are "anxious to find out why the line was taken down so quickly. Many feel it is still a valid picket line and won't cross."

At the meeting of the ALPA chapter in Boston, held the night of November 22, tensions were high, several pilots reported later. "No one is going to tell me what picket line I can walk," said one.

"I'm disappointed in the ALPA and TWU," said flight attendant Lori McManus from Philadelphia. "There's not much to go back to. Eastern is still seeking pay cuts and longer working hours — everything we've been fighting against. Going back gives Lorenzo the go-ahead to do more. I think we should stay out."

Machinists fight for allies

The strike at Eastern began when IAM-organized ramp workers, aircraft cleaners, mechanics, stock clerks, and facility cleaners walked off the job, determined to defend themselves against Eastern's drive to break their union and force acceptance of wage and work-rule concessions totaling \$150 million.

When they hit the picket lines at one minute after midnight, March 4, the Eastern Machinists began a battle that has strengthened the entire labor movement and — after years of retreat — given confidence to millions of working people that resistance to the employers' offensive is possible.

Other unionists fighting to defend themselves in the face of employer attacks — from hospital workers in New York to telephone strikers around the country — have been inspired and aided by the Machinists' struggle at Eastern.

The relationship between the Eastern strikers and the fighters in the United Mine Workers of America, whose strike against Pittston Coal Group's union-busting began in April, has special weight. More and more, the min-

tinue to defend the Central American peace plan and demand that El Salvador comply with its provisions," Ortega told the meeting.

"Our position is clear," Ortega concluded. "We are for a cease-fire and a real dialogue that could achieve peace and democracy in El Salvador."

Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega also spoke about the accusations of the Salvadoran government on November 27. He stated that contra troops had recently used U.S.-made Redeye surface-to-air missiles against Sandinista aircraft. Three hundred of these missiles had been given to the contras by the Reagan administration, he said.

"Now these rockets also appear in El Salvador and they make a big fuss," the defense minister said. "But wasn't it the Yankee government and the Salvadoran military themselves who gave these weapons to the irresponsible, terrorist, criminal contras? And now these munitions end up all over the place, who knows where and in whose hands or in which markets?"

Humberto Ortega announced that the Sandinista People's Army had been placed on alert because of "the tension that exists in Central America at this moment."



Militant/Michael Pennock

October 29 airport walkthrough in support of Eastern strike in Pittsburgh

ers and Eastern strikers have come to view themselves as part of a common struggle — one that all working people have a stake in.

Over the summer, resistance by the miners was deepening and links to the Eastern strike were being forged. At the same time, however, support for the walkout at Eastern among pilots was beginning to wane.

When Eastern began to resume flights in July, August, and September, Machinists spearheaded protests that gave the strike a second wind. These actions — which have continued in many cities — showed renewed determination by many IAM members to continue their struggle.

In New York, Philadelphia, Miami, and other cities, strikers also began to seek ways to draw the IAM as a whole behind their strike. This unifying effort is needed because IAM-organized workers at subcontracting companies have been doing work for the strikebound carrier since at least July.

The layer of Machinists who seek to mobilize union power behind their fight and who take day-to-day responsibility for moving the strike forward has grown as the months have passed. The development of these new leaders has been one of the strike's most important achievements.

The broad support the Eastern strikers have won in the labor movement has also been key to sustaining the fight — now the longest national strike battle in more than 40 years.

With the desertion of the pilots and flight attendants' officials, the strike's chief allies remain other unionists, inside and outside the IAM — and above all the miners.

'No jobs'

Eastern says it has no jobs now for pilots and flight attendants returning to work and that they will have their names placed on lists to be recalled as openings appear.

On November 28 ALPA officials began negotiating with Eastern on a back-to-work agreement. The airline has gone to court seeking an order to block expected attempts by ALPA to win dismissal of pilots hired since the strike started, or those in training, to make room for returning pilots.

Eastern, which has lost \$2-\$3 million a day since the strike started, has little interest in returning many pilots and flight attendants to jobs that would be paid at the pre-strike higher rate.

Because returning pilots still have a contract with Eastern, they would make salaries averaging \$72,000 a year — low for the industry, but much higher than the \$27,500 a year the airline is now paying newly hired scab pilots.

Likewise for flight attendants. Those hired since the strike started make \$1,110 a month, compared to \$2,300 earned by the average attendant before the strike.

Ground workers hired to replace striking Machinists are making \$6.00 an hour or less — about 60 percent of the pre-strike average.

Despite Eastern's resumption of flights and sales of gates, routes, and other assets, the company continues to sustain heavy losses, under the impact of the Machinists' strike and mounting competition in the airline industry. During the first nine months of 1989, Eastern lost \$600 million.

One category of workers Eastern says it

does need is mechanics — 500 of them, according to one Eastern spokesman. Only a few hundred Machinists have crossed the picket line and Eastern has had difficulty hiring qualified replacements.

That's one reason why Eastern is using Continental planes and crews to meet its flight schedule, and has requested that the FAA give the company permission to postpone D-checks on its planes. D-checks are major aircraft overhauls performed every 30,000 flight hours — about every five years. So far, the FAA has refused.

Growing debate among pilots

ALPA's move to end its participation in the strike followed months of growing debate within the pilots' association.

The pilots are a professional layer among airline employees, commanding salaries that range as high as \$11,000 a month in some airlines, based on their monopoly of the profession. Usually they have viewed their interests as more closely aligned with management than with other airline employees. It was the determination and unity of the Eastern Machinists — combined with the pilots' conviction that Lorenzo was ruining the airline and going after them in the process — that drew the pilots into the fight.

Of the 3,600 pilots who went on strike in March, about 870 had already crossed the picket lines to return to work before November 22. Several hundred have also left the strike for other jobs.

About 1,600 of the 5,700 striking flight attendants had crossed.

The first breach in the unity between ALPA, the IAM, and the TWU followed Eastern's resumption of flights on a large scale in July, when the number of daily flights jumped from 80 to 226. It had also become clear by then that efforts by ALPA, IAM, and TWU officials to force Lorenzo to sell the carrier were not going anywhere.

This led to a big wave of defections in August, after ALPA President Henry Duffy and Eastern ALPA head Jack Bavis encouraged the Eastern pilots to find a way to end the strike. Hundreds of pilots and flight attendants crossed the picket lines at that time, giving Lorenzo the crews he needed to keep building up flights and moving ahead with his strike-breaking "reorganization" plan.

Despite the number of pilots who crossed in August, the ALPA Master Executive Council at Eastern voted unanimously against a return to work at that time. Several ALPA officials who wanted to end the strike were then replaced, including Bavis.

In early October the ALPA membership as a whole voted by a narrow margin — 54 percent — to continue paying strike benefits of \$2,400 a month to the Eastern pilots.

Since August, however, the presence of pilots and flight attendants on the picket lines had dwindled, although some remained part of strike activities. Many pilots doubted that another vote in ALPA would sustain the strike benefits.

Striking Eastern Machinists Josefina Otero from Philadelphia, Maggie Pucci from Boston, Rick Walker from Miami, and Nancy Brown and Susie Winsten from Washington, D.C., contributed to this article, along with Bronson Rozier from Louisville, Kentucky.

Ortega hits Salvador gov't

Continued from front page

the president added, "we would have had to break relations with the United States a long time ago because they have been financing and arming the counterrevolution and giving them surface-to-air missiles for several years."

Ortega reminded the audience that U.S. mercenary Eugene Hasenfus, who was shot down over Nicaragua in 1986, took off from the Ilopango military airport in El Salvador. "There has been constant and permanent aggression against Nicaragua from El Salvador, but Nicaragua has never proposed at any time breaking relations with El Salvador," he said. "On the contrary, we have always sought to follow a policy of negotiation to solve these problems."

By suspending relations with Nicaragua, the Salvadoran government "is trying to cover up the crimes it has been committing," Ortega said. Referring to an agreement signed by the five Central American presidents in August, Ortega stated, "El Salvador agreed to respect human rights. But it is not respecting the human rights of the Salvadoran people."

"Regardless of the attitude of the Salvadoran government, Nicaragua will con-

Malcolm X 'emerged as international figure'

Malcolm X: The Last Speeches, published by Pathfinder earlier this year, has received numerous reviews in the United States and internationally.

Among the book's contents are the last two speeches by Malcolm X to appear in print. These two speeches were delivered on Feb. 15 and 16, 1965. Malcolm was assassinated February 21, of the same year. In addition, two radio interviews from 1964 and two speeches given on college campuses in 1963 are included.

The first items below are portions of two reviews of the book. The third item is the first half of an article reporting on the inclusion of a portrait of Malcolm X in the recently completed Pathfinder Mural.

From the magazine *Africa Events*, by Abdul Muhammad Babu. At a December 1964 rally in Harlem of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm introduced



Robert Parent

Malcolm X. New book of speeches and interviews has been widely reviewed.

Babu as "the minister of cooperatives and commerce from Tanzania, a man who is very closely associated with President Julius Nyerere," of Tanzania.

As this volume of his last speeches and interviews testifies, Malcolm was emerging from a minor Black ghetto leader to an international figure of great potential. Only a few months before his assassination, in September 1964, he declared his liberation from Elijah Muhammad while he was still on a pilgrimage to Makka [Mecca]. Elijah's Black Muslim was based on racial separation, but Malcolm saw in Makka that Islam was about "brotherhood of all men irrespective of their colour."

When he returned from Makka, and after a long tour of Africa and Arabia, Malcolm founded a political movement known as the Organisation of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), an out and out political movement designed to unite the Black American community into a political force in the country, and link it first with the African liberation struggle and then with the world-wide anti-imperialist movement. It was at this point that he incurred the wrath of the powers that were beyond the confines of Elijah Muhammad.

This collection of speeches captures the evolution of his political thinking as he was emerging from the ghetto oratory so to speak, to a reasonably seasoned political thinker. One can see clearly from these pages how Malcolm was seeking a positive role for the Black American community in international struggles, that were raging at the time in Africa and Asia. He saw the Bandung Conference of 1955 as the starting point of new world-wide Afro-Asian solidarity and liberation, which also included the struggle of Black Americans.

I first met Malcolm in Cairo during the eventful and historically crucial second OAU [Organization of African Unity] Summit in July 1964. He was lobbying the African Heads of State to recognize the Black American struggle as a universal "human rights struggle," and not just a "civil rights" struggle

which Martin Luther King was leading.

When he eventually went back after accomplishing his mission, Malcolm X was a changed man. As he put it, he was henceforth a good Muslim, a good African, and a good freedom fighter. The speeches in this volume tell the story of this evolution in a way that only Malcolm can tell it.

Bruce Perry [the editor of the book] has done a great service not only to Malcolm X but to the still continuing struggle of the oppressed the world over. Malcolm X's thoughts will always remain alive, as long as oppression remains anywhere.

From the Nov. 27, 1989 *Nation*, by Joe Wood.

In March 1964, Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam, the organization that had both nurtured him into responsible adulthood and shaken America's political consciousness. The break was real. During the last eleven months of his life, Malcolm made an eye-opening pilgrimage to Africa and the Middle East, and he publicly renounced Elijah Muhammad's theology as unorthodox and racist. He also began pondering conceptual alternatives to the movement's black nationalism, eventually deciding to activate a human rights campaign in America, and to place new emphasis on brotherhood, internationalism, anti-imperialism, and, most important, progressive action.

He never failed to remind audiences that while he didn't advocate violence, he did believe in the right to self-protection, particularly in a country as racially inequitable as the United States. And while white liberals and black (dare I say it) integrationists like to stress his embrace of brotherhood, even a cursory examination of his speeches reveals that Malcolm never changed his mind about what the chief enemy was: white American racism.

The book's first two examples are standard Black Muslim fare, delivered in 1963 to predominantly white audiences at Michigan State University and the University of California at Berkeley. In the book's pair of radio interviews (December 1964), Malcolm distances himself from speeches like these, contending that he was only "parroting" Elijah Muhammad's propaganda. But as parrot propagandists go, Malcolm performed brilliantly, making points he would later alter but never abandon.

Yet behind Malcolm X's incredible ability to pick metaphors from the air, and behind his clarity and brutal earnestness, lurked a basic deception: Malcolm didn't believe a lot of what he was saying. But like any disciplined revolutionary, Malcolm felt he couldn't break ranks and did so only after internal politics and personal disillusionment forced him out.

Malcolm traveled through newly postcolonial Africa, and thereby broadened and sharpened his thinking. His essential "Black Muslim" outrage, however, remained, only with small complications. The problems clearly did not come from his broader understanding of internationalism or anticapitalism or brotherhood. Rather, Malcolm's new perspective was made more complicated by his realization that he hadn't known his friends from his enemies, just like the Uncle Tom house Negroes he harped on in his Black Muslim speeches. Where in his old scheme, after all, does one place Elijah?

The Last Speeches records Malcolm's most significant postrevolutionary change: his realization that he could not be sure.

From the New York *Amsterdam News*, Nov. 11, 1989, entitled "Publishing firm keeps leaders alive," by Charles Baillou.

Almost 25 years after his assassination the name Malcolm X has garnered the kind of recognition and respect not accorded to him during his lifetime. Young rap performers not yet born when he was gunned down in the Audubon Ballroom on Feb. 21, 1965, interweave his name in their lyrics.

And now a publishing company known for its extensive publication of revolutionary and progressive leaders has included the African-American grassroots leader to the heroes and heroines they have selected to cover a wall of their six-story headquarters in Greenwich Village.

And equally important, an African-American woman who said she is an admirer of

the fallen advocate for Black liberation is affixing his face next to that of Che Guevara, the Argentine doctor who fought beside Fidel Castro during the Cuban Revolution.

"I think he belongs [among the revolutionaries] on that wall," Carole Byard, an art teacher at the Parsons School of Design, said to a questioner during a break near the wall on the corner of West and Charles Streets.

"I think it is important to show Malcolm as I remember him during the last year of his

life — with a beard. Visually it is an indication of [him] on his own — after he left the Nation of Islam. That," she added, "was when he was at his height. He had such integrity."

Asked how she feels about being chosen to paint El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X), the African-American winner of a number of awards and fellowships said, "I'm honored to be asked by Pathfinder to place Malcolm X among those internationally respected revolutionaries."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

GREG McCARTAN

Pathfinder Press, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, Canada, and New Zealand, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made central contributions to the forward march of humanity against exploitation and oppression.

Pathfinder bookstores are located in 44 cities in seven countries. The addresses of the bookstores are listed on page 12.

Interest in events in southern Africa, particularly the battle of Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola, was a highlight of the discussions at the Pathfinder booth during the annual African Studies Association Conference.

The November 2-5 meeting, held in Atlanta, was attended by some 1,500 professors, scholars, publishers, and activists from across the United States and countries in Africa and Europe.

Promotional material on a video about Cuito Cuanavale, where invading South African military forces were defeated by Angolan, Cuban, and South West Africa People's Organisation fighters, was snapped up by conference participants, said Doug Cooper. Cooper is a member of the Pathfinder editorial staff who participated in the conference.

The video *Response to the South African Escalation*, a three-hour TV documentary, is being distributed by Pathfinder.

Three copies of the book *In Defense of Socialism* were purchased. It contains four speeches given in December 1988 and January 1989 by Cuban President Fidel Castro on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. The political importance of the victory over South Africa in Angola and the fight for independence for Namibia are discussed by Castro.

Growing interest in Thomas Sankara, the central leader of the revolutionary government in the West African country of Burkina Faso from 1983 to 1987, was also registered at the conference.

A selection of Sankara's speeches during those years is published by Pathfinder as *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

The highest selling title was *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, with 27 sold. In all, nearly \$600 worth of Pathfinder titles were bought by conference participants.

The sixth Miami Bookfair International drew some 300 exhibitions of publishers and booksellers from around the world.

The November 17-19 publishers' display was preceded by a week of workshops, lectures, poetry readings, and other events with writers from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Alice Walker, author of *The Color Purple* and other books, drew a crowd of 2,000. A broad range of Miami-area residents participated in the week-long fair.

The event, reports Dan Fein from Miami, was held at Miami-Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus. Nearly half the books shown were in Spanish, reflecting the large number of participants in the fair whose first language is Spanish. There was also a sizeable participation of Haitian fair-goers.

The Pathfinder booth featured a display of the Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* published in Havana. The

GWR summarizes news and reprints articles from the daily *Granma*. Subscriptions are available through Pathfinder in Spanish, English, and French.

The display for the paper caused some debate during the fair. Several people attacked it as a "fascist-Nazi paper" and urged others coming to the booth not to buy it.

Some immigrants from Cuba who came up to the table, however, disagreed, and told people that the right-wingers were "liars." Four subscriptions to the paper were sold.

While several booths contained books and literature hostile to the Cuban revolution, many fair-goers were glad to find books by revolutionary figures.

Books by Pathfinder with speeches by Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Ernesto Che Guevara were the most popular titles. A pamphlet in Spanish with Guevara's talk *Socialism and Man in Cuba* sold out early on in the fair. In all, \$1,300 worth of books and literature were sold.

Bob Miller writes from Washington, D.C., that a standing-room-only crowd of 250 filled the School of Business auditorium at Howard University to discuss *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*.

The November 7 meeting was sponsored by the Pathfinder Bookstore, Howard University Student Association, Caribbean Student Association, and the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Similar events are being sponsored by Pathfinder bookstores around the world to discuss titles recently released by the publishing house.

Imani Countess of the National Alliance of Third World Journalists and the Namibian Information Service told the D.C. meeting, "Malcolm explained that racism and the oppression and exploitation of Blacks, Asians, and Africans was not accidental, but profitable for a minority — for business."

"That," she continued, "is why the fight against the oppression of Blacks must be international."

Malik Edwards, the coordinator of the Malcolm X Day Annual Celebration held in Washington, D.C., said, "Malcolm stands out greater and greater every day. We have to thank Pathfinder for preserving the legacy of Malcolm."

Ike Nahem, representing the local Pathfinder Bookstore, noted that *The Last Speeches* documents the political evolution in Malcolm's last year. Harold Hills, a Howard student, also participated in the panel.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, 40 people attended an event to discuss *In Defense of Socialism*, reports Steve Warshell. The meeting, held at the Pathfinder Bookstore, heard a panel of speakers, including a presentation by the vice-consul of Mexico in Utah, Francisco Olaveria.

"The Cubans give us and all Latin American peoples hope," he said. He noted the leadership role played by Fidel Castro in the international fight against "the criminal debt burden imposed on the underdeveloped world," and apartheid in South Africa.

The meeting ended with a toast to the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Los Angeles Premier Showing of the Video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*. At the home of director Nick Castle, Jr. In attendance: Kate Kaku, wife of Mark Curtis; John Studer, national officer of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Mark Pennington and William Kutmus, lawyers in the case. Sun., Dec. 3, 3 p.m. 2231 N New Hampshire. Sponsor: Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. For more information call (213) 666-6842.

San Francisco

Celebrate the Publication of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. Reception and program. Sun., Dec. 3, 6 p.m. 3264 23rd St. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

The Crisis in Eastern Europe: A Socialist Perspective. Speaker: Pete Seidman, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists Local 1126. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Stop U.S. Aid to El Salvador! Speakers: Fr. James Brockman, author *Romero: A Life*; representative of Comité El Salvador; Martín Koppel, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. Wellington Ave. United Church of Christ, 615 W Wellington. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322.

Behind the Crisis in Eastern Europe. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, member Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 6826 S Stony Island Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 363-7322.

IOWA

Des Moines

The Fight for Independence and Freedom in El Salvador: Protest U.S. Aid to the Military Regime! Speakers: Mike Henry, director Latin American Human Rights Advocacy Center; Jon Bixby, Socialist Workers Party; José Luis Guzmán, former student at Central American University, El Salvador. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (515) 246-8249.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Celebrate the Completion of the Pathfinder Mural. Hosted by Michigan Gallery. Sun., Dec. 17, 5 p.m. 2661 Michigan Ave. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (313) 961-7867 or 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Why the Palestinian People Fight. A panel discussion on the West Bank and Gaza uprising. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Celebrate the Publication of *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Speakers: Zayid Muhammad, Frontline Artists; Wantu Zenzile, Afri-

can National Congress of South Africa Youth Section; representative of South West Africa People's Organisation; Natasha Terlexis, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Dec. 9. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Labor Solidarity Benefit: A Musical Tribute to the Striking Workers of NYNEX, Eastern Airlines, and Pittston Coal. Featuring: Hazel Dickens, Pete Seeger, and other special guests. Fri., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. Washington Irving High School, 16th St. and Irving Pl. Tickets: \$10. Sponsors: New York Emergency Committee in Solidarity with the United Mine Workers of America, Communications Workers of America, International Association of Machinists District 100, Transport Workers Union Local 553, Air Line Pilots Association. For more information call (212) 673-5120 ext. 242.

Benefit Screening of *Azul*, a Film on Nicaraguan Poets. Showing, discussion, and reception with filmmaker Roland Legiardi-Laura. Tues., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. Ethical Culture Society, 2 W 66th St. Sponsors: Ventana, MEDICA, tecNICA, The Writer's Voice, The New York Society for Ethical Culture. Donation: \$5 (screening), \$15 (screening and reception). Funds go toward medical and school supplies for Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 529-9397.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Celebrate the Completion of the Pathfinder Mural. Reception and program with video presentation to raise funds for the Pathfinder Mural. Meet Eva Hamlin Miller, Greensboro artist who painted John Brown on mural. Sun., Dec. 3, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (919) 272-2958.

Eastern Europe and the Crisis of Capitalism. Speaker: Devin Oldendick, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sun., Dec. 10, 7 p.m. 2219 E Market. Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

Celebrate the Publication of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. Speakers: Darrell Millner, chair, Portland State University Black Studies; Lenny Edwards, writer and narrator of *Malcolm X: In Perspective*; Rick Jones, director of *The Meeting*; Mamadou Touré, former president of the Malcolm X English Club at his university in Senegal; representative of Pathfinder Books. Thurs., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. (formerly Union). Donation: \$2. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Miners' International Fight for Justice. A panel discussion by working miners. Sat., Dec. 9, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

The Fight for Liberation in Southern Africa: A Historic Turning Point. Panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 16, 7 p.m. 116 McFarland St. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

New Developments in the Salvadoran Free-

dom Struggle. Video and discussion. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Celebrate the Publication of *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Reception and panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 16. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Pathfinder Bookstore. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Crisis in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Speaker: representative of Communist League. Fri., Dec. 15, 7:30 p.m. 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (02) 692 0319.

BRITAIN

London

The Fight for a 35-Hour Week. Speaker: Brian Grogan, member Amalgamated Engineering Union and Communist League. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Sponsor: New International Forums. For more information call (01) 928-7947.

Sheffield

Namibia: Victory for SWAPO, Challenge to Apartheid. Speaker: Mark Weinstein, member Amalgamated Engineering Union. Wed., Dec. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St. Donation: £1. For more information call (0742) 729469.

Rally to Celebrate Publication of *In Defense of Socialism* by Fidel Castro. Speakers: Roberto de Armas, first secretary of Embassy of the Republic of Cuba; representatives of African National Congress of South Africa, South West Africa People's Organisation, and Britain-Cuba Resource Centre. Sat., Dec. 9, 2 p.m. SADACCA, 48 The Wicker. Donation: £1. Sponsor: Sheffield Pathfinder Bookcentre. For more information call (0742) 729469.

CANADA

Montréal

Solidarity with the Salvadoran People!

Pro-Palestinian Israeli journalist released after 18 mos. in prison

JERUSALEM — Asaf Adiv, a victimized Israeli journalist, was released from prison November 16 after serving an 18-month sentence.

Adiv was an editor of *Way of the Spark*. Published in Hebrew and Arabic, it solidarized with the Palestinian liberation struggle.

For this, Adiv and three other editors of the paper were railroaded to prison.

Editor Yacov Ben Efrat, who was given a 30-month sentence, is the only *Spark* editor still imprisoned.

Michal Schwartz was released last month after serving 18 months. Ronnie Ben Efrat was released after nine months.

Adiv and Ben Efrat were held in a prison isolation wing since they were jailed. A top prison official admitted this was done to isolate them from political prisoners.

All of the *Spark* prisoners were denied the standard one-third time off for good behavior. They were also denied furloughs and open

NEW YORK

Stop the U.S. War in El Salvador

March & Rally

Sat., Dec. 2, 11 a.m.

Times Square
43rd & Broadway
Manhattan

Sponsors: Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and others. For more information call (212) 431-9251.

Speakers: Luis Jarquín, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; others. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

Eastern Europe: Failure of Communism or of Stalinism? Speaker: Steve Penner, executive secretary Revolutionary Workers League. Sat., Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Forum Lutte Ouvrière. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

Vancouver

Upheaval in Eastern Europe: The Stakes for Working People. Speaker: Paul Kouri, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 178 and Revolutionary Workers League. Sat., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. 1053 Kingsway. Donation: \$3. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavík

The "Failure of Socialism" and the Future of Communism. Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Sat., Dec. 9, 3 p.m. Litla Brekka, Bankastrti. For more information call (91) 17513.

visits.

With his release, Adiv was slated to join a prison picket demanding that Ben Efrat be transferred from the isolation wing to the political prisoners' wing.

Meanwhile, journalist and political activist Michel Warschawsky, who was recently sentenced to prison, won a reprieve until the Israeli Supreme Court hears his appeal. The court agreed to do this within two months.

Warschawsky was director of the Alternative Information Centre, which also stands in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. He was sentenced to 20 months in prison with an additional 10 months suspended.

His conviction was based on the police accusation that the Alternative Information Centre had provided typesetting service to an "illegal" organization. The evidence was a pamphlet said to advise Palestinians on what to do during interrogation and torture by Israeli secret police. The center itself was also convicted and fined \$5,000.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New Internationalist*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Lutte ouvrière*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 1306 1st Ave. N. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11963. Zip: 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: 1809 W. Indian School Rd. Zip: 85015. Tel: (602) 279-5850.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** 3702 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 420-1165. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 NE 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 877-9338.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 132 Cone St. NW, 2nd Floor. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 6826 S. Stony Island Ave. Zip: 60649. Tel: (312) 363-7322.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Austin: 407 1/2 N. Main. Zip: 55912. Tel: (507) 433-3461. **Twin Cities:** 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: 5534 Troost Ave. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 444-7880. **St. Louis:** 4907 Martin Luther King Dr. Zip: 63113. Tel: (314) 361-0250.

NEBRASKA: Omaha: 140 S. 40th St. Zip: 68131. Tel: (402) 553-0245.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: 464 Bergen St. Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 398-6983. **New York:** 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cleveland: 2521 Market Ave. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150. **Columbus:** P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202.

OREGON: Portland: 2730 NE Martin Luther King, Jr. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 9 E. Chelton Ave. Zip: 19144. Tel: (215) 848-5044. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: 253 E. Main St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** 147 E 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 3165 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699, 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: 116 McFarland St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 181 Glebe Point Rd., 2nd floor, Glebe. Postal address: P.O. Box 153 Glebe, Sydney NSW 2037. Tel: 02-660 1673.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut, SE1 8LL. Tel: 01-401 2293.

Sheffield: 2A Waverley House, 10 Joiner St., Sheffield 3. Tel: 0742 729469.

CANADA

Montréal: 6566 boul. St-Laurent, H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400, M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102, V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavík: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10, S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Meet Mr. Free Enterprise — "To be candid with you, I think I could merchandise it." — Barry Stuppler, a Los Angeles businessman who offered the East German



Harry Ring

government \$50 million for the Berlin Wall.

War on flatulence — Worried about carbon dioxide, fluorocarbons, and the greenhouse effect? A diversion. The Environmental Protection Agency has bared the real

culprit — proliferating Third World cattle and sheep. Put them on a low-fiber diet, the EPA says, to reduce their flatulence and resulting methane gas. Plus, add hormones to make them bigger and, thus, less numerous. This, the EPA enthuses, would cut the greenhouse effect, "often at a profit."

No respect — When ex-attorney general Edwin Meese visited Southern Illinois University, he was greeted by a crowd of students wearing rubber pig noses and chanting: "Let's steal money. Let's tell lies. Guess who we are. Meese in disguise."

A free-world alternative — What with the brain drain of departing professionals, the South African

apartheid regime is advertising in West German papers offering jobs to skilled East German émigrés. So far, says the South African consulate in Munich, 15 people have responded.

Dangerous question — "The Israeli government is unflinchingly following Dublin's lead on banning subversive publications. The Israeli army authorities controlling the Ketzio Prison Camp... have stopped Palestinian prisoners from reading Shakespeare's *Hamlet* because in his soliloquy, Hamlet ponders whether to take up arms or suffer in silence." — *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, Dublin.

The "new" South Africa — A Muslim clergyman who stopped on

a highway near Johannesburg to administer last rites to a dying crash victim was fined some \$30 for illegal parking.

They should have moved that fast in Malvinas — The British government said that after due consultation with the baking industry, it would ban potassium bromate, a "flour improver" that gives white bread a crumbly texture, extends shelf life, and causes cancer. Scientists first expressed concern about the additive 15 years ago, and a definitive link with cancer was established six years ago.

A touch of class — "They walk around differently. They sit up straighter." — David Holland, who peddles dog jewelry — \$80 for a

gold-plated necklace, \$5,000 for 18-karat.

She loves a good joke — Britain's Margaret Thatcher warned the United Nations of impending environmental disaster, pledging that Britain would do its share in coping with this. Meanwhile, British energy planners said current carbon dioxide emission levels in Britain would increase 73 percent in 30 years.

Thought for the week — "A substantial improvement [in curbing carbon dioxide] will only be achieved by pricing oil energy at a significantly higher price than today." — Robert Malpas, chairman of one of Britain's soon-to-be privatized power companies.

El Salvador repression grows under Cristiani gov't

Continued from front page

to accept international mediation to begin talks with the military, instead of the government, to end the war.

"This requires the goodwill of the United States to help move its allies in the armed forces and Arena toward a political solution," the statement said.

Cristiani responded that the rebels' proposals "lacked all seriousness."

Breaks relations with Nicaragua

On November 26, following the crash of an airplane said to be carrying surface-to-air missiles, Cristiani broke all diplomatic and commercial relations with Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan government, he claimed, sent the weapons, capable of shooting down aircraft, to the rebel forces. He said the Nicaraguans were behind the entire rebel offensive.

In addition Cristiani said he would not attend a meeting of the five Central American presidents scheduled for December 5 in Nicaragua. The summit was called to discuss the disbanding of the U.S.-backed contra forces who have been fighting to overthrow the Nicaraguan government. Talks between the government and the contras have broken down.

The U.S. State Department held the Soviet Union responsible for the purported arms

shipment.

White House spokesperson Marlin Fitzwater said, "The president will press the Soviets to take action to insure that their allies cease this outrageous behavior."

Roots of the civil war

The military conflict grows out of social and political conditions in El Salvador itself. In the late 1970s a powerful upsurge of labor, peasant, and student struggles had begun to challenge the social inequality and political restrictions in the country. The army-dominated regime responded with increasing force and terror.

Inspired by the victorious 1979 revolution over the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua, five organizations came together as a bloc and formed the FMLN. It undertook an armed struggle in the countryside, and called for a "people's government" and independence from U.S. political domination.

In an effort to wipe out the guerrilla struggle as well as other organizations of workers, peasants, and students, the government has slain tens of thousands of trade unionists, farm organizers, student activists, priests, and nuns. Death squads linked to the military killed up to 200 people per week in the early 1980s.

In 1984 Washington backed José Napoleón Duarte of the Christian Democratic Party in the country's presidential elections. Duarte promised peace, eradication of human rights abuses by the military and government death squads, and economic reforms. His candidacy won support from many working people and middle-class layers.

Washington hoped an elected civilian government headed by Duarte would be able to politically isolate the FMLN. Despite initial success, \$4 billion in US aid and an army that has grown from 17,000 to 57,000 have not stemmed deepening social polarization or the continuing military conflict.

The Duarte government was unable to stop workers, peasants, and students from organizing. Groups that had ceased public activity because of the repression began openly operating again in the latter part of his administration. Trade union and peasant organizations formed federations such as the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS), and groups pressing for peace organized large protests.

The worsening economic situation hit workers and peasants hard. Agricultural production has dropped, and unemployment has risen to nearly 30 percent. More than 40 percent of the population suffers from underemployment. Real wages have fallen by at least half since 1980.

This deteriorating economic situation and the growing discontent with the Duarte administration was the context for the March 1989 presidential elections.

Cristiani's main slogan was "We need a change." He promised to negotiate with the FMLN to end the war, criticized Duarte for freeing political prisoners, and supported a strong army.

In January, prior to the elections, the FMLN announced a peace proposal: If the Duarte regime postponed the elections for six months, kept the armed forces and the U.S. government from interfering in them, and guaranteed democratic rights, the FMLN would urge all its supporters to participate in the elections and respect the results.

Duarte initially rejected the proposal, but then offered a six-week postponement of the elections. The rebels turned down Duarte's proposal saying the time period was too short to guarantee democratic elections. The FMLN then called for a boycott of the elections.

Before president-elect Cristiani took office in June, the FMLN declared its willingness to negotiate and urged him to declare his administration a "government in transition."

In September and October two rounds of negotiations took place between the government and the rebels and a third round was scheduled for November in Venezuela.

In the negotiations the FMLN proposed a date for the beginning of a cease-fire, the integration of the FMLN into Salvadoran political life, the creation of one army, the dismissal of 18 senior military commanders, and several other reforms.

The government responded by demanding the FMLN disband by January 1990 and "cease hostilities so the people can live in peace." The FMLN called the government's stance "a proposal for unconditional surrender."

While both sides agreed to the Venezuela talks, it was clear the government was not going to budge on its demands.

Break in talks

At the same time death squads and the military stepped up their attacks.

A United Nations commission reported that hundreds were executed, tortured, disappeared, and jailed by the military and the death squads in the past year.

Leading opposition figures received death threats and protests were suppressed. On October 31 the offices of the National Federa-

tion of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS) were bombed. Ten people, including several union leaders, were killed.

Thus, while putting on a facade of negotiations, the military-dominated government was more and more provocative, openly attacking anyone who opposed it.

Under these conditions the FMLN announced it would not participate in the Venezuela meeting. "We must not allow our presence in the dialogue to be used to cover up the government's responsibility for that [the FENASTRAS] massacre."

Blocked off in the negotiations and facing rising restrictions on democratic rights, the rebels launched the military assaults November 11. FMLN spokesperson Salvador Samayoa said in Mexico City, "We had, and we have, only one thing in mind and that is to remove the present high military command from its position of absolute power."

The regime has given no indication it is willing to negotiate. And it has the bipartisan backing and funds from Washington to continue on its present course. Although a few congressional figures worried about Washington's image in supporting a regime that carries out extensive human rights abuses, \$80 million more in funding was overwhelmingly approved November 20.

Since fighting began the "government forces apparently took advantage of the fighting to settle old scores," reports the human rights group Americas Watch.

One such person was Guillermo Rojas, a leader of the UNTS. He was dragged out of his home and shot said a spokesperson for the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission.

A witness to the November 16 assassination of five Jesuits and three others said the 30 men "were wearing camouflage uniforms" like the ones worn by "soldiers on the street."

—10 AND 25 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Dec. 7, 1979

In response to Washington's escalating war threats against Iran — with a U.S. naval task force ominously steaming toward the Persian Gulf — Imam Ruhollah Khomeini declared November 26 that Iran's forces were on alert.

Khomeini called on every young Iranian to take up arms to defend the country against U.S. military attack.

"Equip yourselves and train yourselves and your friends for military purposes," Khomeini said.

Shortly after, a radio broadcast stated that the Islamic Revolutionary Guards had formulated a nationwide program of military training. They distributed weapons-training pamphlets to demonstrators outside the U.S. embassy, where 49 U.S. personnel are being held by Iranian students.

Reports from Tehran indicate there is widespread sentiment among workers for arming the population to defend Iran against a U.S. attack. Oil workers had called for organizing "nuclei of resistance."

On November 21, the day after Washington announced that a naval task force was on its way to Iran, an estimated 2 million people massed in the streets of Tehran in the largest

display yet of sentiment against U.S. military moves.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Dec. 7, 1964

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — Malcolm X denounced the "criminal action of the United States government in conjunction with Belgium in the Congo" last night at the first Harlem rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity since his return from Africa.

"We want the world to know we don't like what Sam is doing to our brothers in the Congo," the Black nationalist leader declared.

At a press conference held upon his arrival at Kennedy International Airport on November 24, Malcolm X was asked about the alleged massacre of white hostages in the Congo. He replied: "When Lyndon B. Johnson began to finance [Congolese dictator Moise] Tshombe's white mercenaries, it was only natural to expect such things to happen. The weight of the guilt is on the white mercenaries. It's too bad they had to die, but when you shed tears for those hostages, shed tears for the Congolese who died too."

Protest censors' attack on mural

The campaign underway to defend the Pathfinder Mural deserves the support of every fighter for social justice and every defender of democratic rights. Mural supporters are urging messages be sent to New York Mayor Edward Koch calling on the city authorities to ensure the mural and the Pathfinder Building on which it is painted are not attacked.

Just as the scaffolding was coming down from the two-year project on Manhattan's West Side, the big-business newspaper the *New York Post* and right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan ran prominent editorials attacking the six-story work of art. The *Daily News* editors soon followed with a sharp condemnation of the mural.

The November 24 *News* says the mural is "a salute to the men who by their ideas and examples and actions made the [Berlin] Wall possible and necessary."

It calls Pathfinder Director Steve Clark's statement at the November 19 mural dedication that "there is no greater symbol of freedom than Fidel Castro and Che Guevara" a "blood libel of the human race, of mass homicidal proportions." Castro and Guevara are both depicted in the mural.

While claiming that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr., are "libeled" because they are included in the mural, the *News* adds: "Not present, ironically, is Josef Stalin, Lenin's heir, the spiritual godfather of and role model for Castro, Guevara & Co., the greatest mass murderer in modern history."

The editors conclude with a provocative admonition that could only be designed to encourage vandalism of the mural. It says *R.I.P.* should be painted at the top and *NEVER AGAIN* across the bottom.

The *Post* said the mural is a "bizarre celebration of totalitarianism," and called for the mural to be "removed."

These attacks on the mural are cut from the same cloth as other recent attacks on artistic freedom. They are part and parcel of the current political censorship campaign that resulted in legislation barring federal funding for art deemed obscene or offensive.

The *News*, *Post*, and Buchanan rail against the \$500 grant to the Pathfinder Mural from the New York State Council on the Arts as well. These assaults on freedom of expression — with the threat of termination of government funding and defacing of existing art work — must and can be rebuffed by a serious and broad protest effort.

Moreover, the fact that the visceral hatred for the mural in these pieces is a response to the political content of the work raises the stakes in making sure the right-wingers, big-business media, or other censors are unable to sustain a campaign against it.

Far from bringing injustice and denial of democratic rights to the countries they are from, the people portrayed in the mural lead struggles against war, racism, exploitation, and oppression. Most were victimized, jailed, or assassinated for their political activity.

Among the main portraits of people whose writings

and speeches Pathfinder publishes are: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, fighters in the working-class movements of the 1800s and founders of modern communism, who were forced to live most of their political lives in exile; Eugene V. Debs, labor leader and socialist jailed from 1918 to 1921 for opposing U.S. entry into World War I; Rosa Luxemburg, leader of the working class in Germany, a communist, arrested in 1919 and assassinated; communists Farrell Dobbs and James P. Cannon, founders of the Socialist Workers Party jailed in 1941 for opposing U.S. entry into World War II; Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca, leaders of the struggle of the Nicaraguan people who were both assassinated by the U.S.-installed Somoza tyranny; and Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa who has been imprisoned for 26 years for fighting to end apartheid.

Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, are "symbols of freedom" to workers and farmers the world over because of the revolution they helped to lead 90 miles from U.S. shores, which toppled the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. In addition, their uncompromising stance, both in word and action, on the side of the struggle for freedom internationally has reinforced this fact for the last 30 years. Guevara himself was assassinated in 1967 while organizing a guerrilla struggle against the U.S.-supported Bolivian military regime.

While attempting to smear the mural with the crimes of Joseph Stalin, the editors of the *News* and *Post* hate the mural because it portrays communism in a true way — the generalized lessons of the historic struggle of the working class for its own, and all of humanity's, emancipation. This includes the fight against national oppression, class exploitation, and imperialist domination.

Stalin is not in the mural, and for good reason. Stalinism represents the polar opposite of communism. There is not one smidgeon of Marxism in it.

The struggle today by the Salvadoran people against the bloody U.S.-financed regime, the miners in the coalfields of Appalachia, the airline workers at Eastern against Frank Lorenzo, the Cuban people who won't give in to U.S. imperial demands, and others proves the *News* wrong when it asserts that the creators of the mural "failed to grasp the news sweeping the world. Marx is dead."

While the *News* wrongly attributes the struggle of the working class to a single human being, the fact that the mural does portray the continued fight for working class emancipation, and the place of communists in it, is what both big-business papers hate. Their campaign for political censorship and the destruction of the mural should be vigorously opposed through a united response by supporters of the mural and democratic rights.

Protest messages should be sent to: Mayor Edward Koch, c/o City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007. Copies can be sent to the Pathfinder Mural, c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 191 7th Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Why can't everyone have a home?

BY DOUG JENNESS

U.S. Census Bureau officials, gearing up for their decennial headcount next year, are concerned about an additional task they face. For the first time, they'll be counting the homeless. The substantial number of people without homes, which by conservative estimates runs into the hundreds of thousands, warrants this if even the pretense of an accurate count is to be made.

But something about this is bothersome. There appears to be a growing tendency to view the homeless as a permanent category and to virtually institutionalize it as such. In New York, for example, efforts were made to register homeless people as voters in the recent city elec-

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

tions. In some places public schools are establishing special programs to meet the needs of homeless children. Shelters and soup kitchens are assuming a more permanent character. Most aid efforts accept the condition of homelessness rather than provide new homes.

This doesn't mean that the wealthy have accepted the homeless sleeping in public transportation terminals and on the sidewalks in their neighborhoods. In fact, there are continuing efforts to get government authorities to keep homeless people out of sight.

In New York, for example, Operation Enforcement was launched in October to selectively enforce new rules banning panhandling, sleeping in subway stations or cars, and other such activities. In the Port Authority bus terminal, the old wooden benches have been replaced by "flip seats" that require so much concentration to balance that sleeping or even sitting long are impossible.

Gates are placed at the entrances of subways in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco at night to keep homeless people out.

Like charity and government aid, these repressive measures accept that homelessness is a condition of our society. The fur coat and diamond necklace set just want it kept out of their sight.

But there's an irrepressible question: Why can't everyone have a home? Why in the United States, with its vast resources and highly productive labor force, can't everyone be adequately housed?

It's not for lack of factories to produce cement, steel rods, roofing material, or plumbing and electrical fixtures. There is more than adequate capacity to produce these and other construction materials, and this could easily be expanded if necessary.

Moreover, no one could argue credibly that there is insufficient space to construct new housing.

Nor is there a lack of construction workers or the facilities to quickly train those who need more skills.

There also could be plenty of funds if some of the tax revenues collected from working people were used for construction of new housing. It would, of course, mean cutting budget items such as warships, nuclear weapons, arms to Israel and El Salvador, and other expenses that we could and should do without.

Even with a full-scale mobilization of forces to build enough new housing, it would take a little time to get the job done and everyone settled into a new home.

But throughout the country there are tens of thousands of vacant homes and apartments that could immediately be made available to people without a roof over their heads. Within days most of the homeless could have a place to live.

Why doesn't this happen? Why can't the possible be made to happen? The answer comes down to one word: profits. This may seem simple, but it's the fact. This can be seen by looking at why so many people are homeless.

A principal reason is that many people can't afford to pay rent or buy a house, because they have no income or it's too low. They are unemployed or trying to live on welfare payments, social security, or meager wages. Landlords, who rent houses or apartments to make money, kick tenants out when they can't pay. And they'll leave apartments empty for months unless they can collect a rent.

In the past decade, when so many professional and other middle-class layers have prospered compared to most working people whose real wages have fallen, contractors and real estate sharks have had a market for building and selling middle- and high-rent buildings. They have also remodeled old buildings in poorer neighborhoods in order to jack up rents. This is far more profitable than building low-rent housing that low-income people can afford.

Moreover, the federal government has drastically slashed construction of government-subsidized public housing and the housing proposals announced by President George Bush in early November would not rectify this.

To immediately halt all evictions, place the homeless in vacant housing, and build new low-rent apartments would challenge the profits of landlords and real estate speculators. Struggles by working people for these goals will ultimately pose getting rid of the entire profit system. Only by taking the profits out of housing can everyone be guaranteed a home without fear of eviction.

Israel's nuclear buildup

With rather surprising candor, the *New York Times* has endorsed the continuing moves by the Israeli government to advance its capacity to wage nuclear war.

Pointing to an asserted threat to Israel's security by its Arab neighbors, a November 16 *Times* editorial declares that "Israel has arguable grounds for having missiles and not denying itself a nuclear capability against a threat to its survival."

The paper notes with satisfaction that "Washington has shown understanding of Israel's desire to acquire nuclear weapons and missiles."

The editorial does wag a finger at the Israeli government for collaborating with the South African apartheid regime in developing a joint nuclear missile program.

The editorial notes that with such nuclear cooperation, the Israeli government is violating a U.S.-endorsed United Nations embargo on arms for South Africa. The paper advises that Israel does harm to its reputation "by associating itself with an outlaw state."

The *Times* editorial was prompted by reports that the Israeli and South African regimes have been cooperating on the development of intermediate-range missiles.

Israel provides South Africa with nuclear technology, much of it made available to Israel by the U.S. government. In exchange South Africa is providing uranium for Israel's nuclear weapons program.

U.S. officials have confirmed that last July, the Israeli and South African governments tested a missile in South Africa with a 900-mile range.

In September U.S. officials confirmed that Israel had launched a test ballistic missile from somewhere near Jerusalem, which landed in the Mediterranean 250 miles north of Libya.

The U.S. State Department assures that the U.S. government's claimed policy of opposing the spread of

nuclear weapons "applies to Israel as much as to anyone else."

But when a bill was introduced in Congress to curb the transfer of nuclear technology, the Bush administration last month spoke sharply against it, warning that it could jeopardize a number of U.S. programs with Israel.

Washington's insistence on looking the other way while the Israeli and South African rulers jointly develop their nuclear weapons underlines the fraud of the claimed U.S. support for sanctions against South Africa.

The *Times* editorial argued that Israel is justified in developing its nuclear arsenal because, among other things, it faces an alleged threat of chemical warfare by Arab governments. The editorial neglects to mention that while Israel claims it is favorably disposed to the idea, it has yet to join the countries now negotiating a proposed ban on chemical weapons.

There can be no argument with the *Times*' description of the South African regime as an "outlaw."

But what about the Israeli government? It continues to gun, gas, beat, and jail Palestinians for no other crime than demanding their democratic right to self-determination.

And the Israeli record also includes a series of savage aggressions against neighboring Arab nations.

The Israeli capitalist rulers are determined to perpetuate their domination over the Palestinian people and to stand as a bastion for imperialism in the Mideast. Their nuclear buildup is intended to further that reactionary aim.

In the United States, working people and everyone else concerned with peace and social progress should demand a halt to Washington's nuclear complicity with Israel and South Africa.

Oil union conference debates women's rights issues

BY JANICE LYNN

CONCORDVILLE, Pa. — "We Can Make a Difference," a conference on issues of concern to working women and the unions as a whole, took place here a few weeks ago. Sponsored by the District 8 Council Resource Center of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), the gathering attracted 125 union women and men.

OCAW's District 8 includes six northeastern states. But union members came from as far away as Texas, Idaho, Montana, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as well as from Penn-

UNION TALK

sylvania, New Jersey, New York, Maryland, Massachusetts, and Delaware. Some women were members of local union executive boards or negotiating committees, while many others held no union posts.

Workshops included "The Right to Abortion — A Union Issue?"; "Affirmative Action: How We Won It and How to Keep It"; and "Coalition Building: Reaching Out to Other Unions and the Community." Other workshops discussed health and safety, working mothers, sexual harassment, and the role of women in the union.

The abortion rights workshop, one of the best attended, sparked a serious and lively discussion about whether unions should support the right of women to choose when and whether to have children.

"The issue is one of control, and our unions have always fought to give us more control over our lives," said Cathy, an OCAW member from Delaware.

"For women to achieve equality, we must have the right to control our own bodies," said Claire Moriarty, a refinery worker from Pennsylvania. "If part of our membership remains unequal, our union strength is undermined and the

wages, benefits, and working conditions of all workers can be attacked."

Isn't this a divisive issue for the unions? some union brothers asked, noting that many different viewpoints exist within the union on abortion.

Several union sisters responded. The unions taking up the issue of women's right to choose abortion, they said, would help to unify and strengthen our unions so that women could take part as equals in the labor battles that will be unfolding.

Many conference participants had been part of the massive April 9 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C., and spoke about the confidence it had inspired in them. Flyers were distributed for the November 12 prochoice Mobilize for Women's Lives demonstration in Washington, and many were planning to attend that action as well.

The "Pro-union/pro-choice" buttons available at the conference were completely sold out.

At the coalition-building workshop, discussion revolved around support to the strikes of Machinists union members at Eastern Airlines and mine workers at Pittston Coal company.

"If they are able to get away with defeating us, then every airline worker is in trouble," said Cathy Brady, a striking Eastern ramp worker from Machinists Local 1776 in Philadelphia. "And once they're done with the airlines, they'll move to other industries."

The Eastern strikers "feel a close kinship with the Pittston coal miners," she stressed.

Striking Eastern mechanic Amelia Lloyd said the biggest challenge the strikers have to overcome is ignorance because many are not aware that the strike is still on. "This is labor's time," she said, explaining the need for visible solidarity actions.

Carole Davis of the Coal Employment Project, which

helps women get and keep jobs in the mines, talked about the support the Pittston strikers have received from wives, children, high school students, neighbors, and the many delegations of supporters who visit Camp Solidarity in southwestern Virginia from around the country.

Nomonde Ngubo, an international representative of the United Mine Workers of America, showed excerpts of videos about the Pittston miners' strike in Virginia and 1987 strikes by mine workers and others in South Africa.

"As trade unionists, you have to think about yourselves as internationalists," Ngubo said. "This has become a necessity. We must work together to end injustices in the workplace, and for human rights."

All the international officers of the OCAW attended the conference and participated in the workshops and plenary sessions.

International President Joseph Misbrenner spoke about the recent explosion at the OCAW-organized Phillips Petroleum plant in Pasadena, Texas, where some 15 workers lost their lives. Four women were among those hospitalized with severe burns, he said.

At the closing plenary, conference organizer Robin Bryant, a refinery worker from Pennsylvania, explained that the conference had been conceived of and organized not by professionals, but by working OCAW women who got together on their days off and before and after work.

Two women refinery workers from an independent union at an Exxon plant said they were impressed with the November 4 conference and wanted to work with the OCAW to help organize their workplace.

There was enthusiasm for organizing another conference to involve even more OCAW women.

Janice Lynn is a member of OCAW Local 8-575 at the Merck pharmaceutical plant in Rahway, New Jersey.

—LETTERS—

Illinois steelworkers

About 80 steelworkers and family members marched outside National Steel's division headquarters in Granite City during lunchtime one day last month.

"Human beings are not machines," "Pro forty-hour workweek," and "When can I see my daddy?" were some of the signs. The most popular chants were "Over-time, no! Eight hours, yes!" and "They say giveback. We say fightback!"

The protest was organized as part of a shop-floor fight against the company's implementation of new schedules for workers in the Cold Mill where I work. These schedules end the 40-hour workweek, eliminate 11 percent of the crew, and force workers to put in 16-hour days four times a month.

Everybody thought the protest was a big success. Most workers from the Cold Mill attended along with several from other departments. An Eastern Airlines striker and a coal miner from southern Illinois who is active in supporting the Pittston strike also participated.

Pete Brandli
Granite City, Illinois

End U.S. intervention

With the current events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union's non-intervention policies, the United States is placed in a position to receive worldwide criticism for its policies. The Caribbean and Central and South America must be allowed to determine their own destiny without interference by the American government.

On "Meet the Press," Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney stated the Soviet Union must stop arming Nicaragua, which he says gives arms to the freedom fighters of El Salvador. Secretary Cheney doesn't understand the freedom of El Salvador nor does he say that American taxpayers are paying \$1 million a day to prop up the Salvadoran government. Without this aid, the people would have seized that bankrupt government and would be on their way to establishing a true people's government.

World opinion should insist that the U.S. government dismantle the contras and any other mercenary army they own and finance; tear

Leonard Peltier and the Pathfinder Mural

In our November 17 issue we reported that a self-portrait of framed-up Native American activist and artist Leonard Peltier had been added to the mural on the six-story Pathfinder Building in New York.

However, the self-portrait provided by Peltier, who is currently serving time in a federal maximum

security prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, was received after his image had already been painted on the wall by a member of Artifact (Artists for Action), a group from Montréal.

A portrait based on a work by Peltier, "The Great Walker," has been put on the wall by Martín Morena, a Chicano artist from Phoenix.



Militant/Margrethe Siem
Leonard Peltier (left) and "The Great Walker."



down the illegal blockade of Cuba; allow each country to hold true and free elections without interference, financially or otherwise; recognize the government the people elect and not instigate a coup as they did in Chile; and remove military "advisers" from all countries in the Americas.

Last but not least, Guantánamo naval base should be returned to its rightful owner, the Cuban people, and all U.S. military personnel should be removed from Panama.

A prisoner
Michigan City, Indiana

Behind these walls

I had to write and let you know that I received my *Militant* and to say thank you very much for caring for us behind these walls.

I may be getting out in a few months and there are many things I'd like to do with my life. But I know I have to help others that are in the same situation I'm now in.

You all do beautiful work and don't ever think that you are not needed. Thanks again for a job well done. Take care biz!

A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana

Airline workers' victory

Immediately before the Industrial Tribunal was due to hear her case on November 6, British Airways admitted they had unfairly dismissed flight attendant Lynn Hooper and offered her the choice of her job back with an unblemished record or the maximum compensation of around £9,500 (\$15,000). Management alleged she had sold passengers champagne that was intended to be complimentary.

Short-haul crews struck for one day on August 18 after she was sacked. The strikers were told they could only return to work if they signed a promise never to go on strike again. Manchester cabin crews refused to sign.

The next day management sent crews from London's Heathrow airport to work flights to Manchester, but as they landed, the crews were persuaded to strike by union representatives. British Airways had to hire taxis to get them back to London.

Then the company used members of a new sweetheart organization, Cabin Crew '89, to fly the planes. So marshallers, baggage handlers, caterers, and cleaners were instructed not to handle the flights.

Meanwhile, workers at other airports began to refuse to sign the no-strike pledge. Management agreed to allow the strikers to return to work with no conditions.

Chris Morris
Manchester, England

Appreciates 'Granma'

I was shocked at first when I read that the Cubans decided to execute Gen. Arnaldo Ochoa and three of his ringleaders. But later I read Raúl Castro's speech and I realized that one of the facets of the rectification is the negation of the principle that rank should have privileges.

This is also borne out by the trial and imprisonment of the "embezzlers" of state property as well as the campaign to reform the Ministry of Interior. If I didn't have *Granma*, I would be badly confused. I'm glad to see Pathfinder start to distribute it, as I hope that will make it more regular.

Frank Pavelko
Salt Lake City, Utah

Angolan 'contras'

About 80 people attended a November 15 meeting at the Newark Public Library on the situation in Angola. The meeting was chaired by Larry Hamm of the People's Organization for Progress. Hamm spoke of the recent victories in southern Africa with the elections in Namibia and the freeing of some political prisoners in South Africa.

Adewale Troutman, the medical director of Health and Human Services in Newark, presented slides from a delegation that visited Angola in August. The slideshow focused on victims of the war with UNITA, the counterrevolutionary organization aided by Washington and South Africa.

Average life expectancy in Angola is 46 years. Everywhere you go, Troutman explained, there are amputees from the war — men, women, children with no legs. Some 35 percent of all clinics have been destroyed.

Only one physician exists for every 45,000 people, and all physicians have to travel with bodyguards as they and other health-care workers are targets of UNITA.

In the capital city of Luanda there is no ambulance and you must be carried or flag down a car to get to a hospital.

Troutman appealed for medical aid to Angola and stressed the need for a movement to stop UNITA similar to the movement built around stopping aid to the contras in Nicaragua. "It took masses of people to do this," he said.

Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice spoke on the role of the CIA in aiding UNITA and destabilizing

the Angolan government and said there is a need to disseminate information about Angola.

The decision of the Newark City Council to establish a sister-city relationship with a city in Angola is an important step in the process of pressuring the U.S. government to recognize the government of Angola, Chavis explained.

A campaign was launched at the meeting to get 1 million signatures on a petition demanding that President George Bush and U.S. elected officials cease all support to the UNITA terrorists and recognize Angola.

During the discussion, Zayid Muhammad of Frontline Artists spoke about the role of Cuba in defending the sovereignty of Angola and urged people to do all they can to insure that Cuba can continue to do "what a lot of us are not in a position to do."

J.L.
Newark, New Jersey

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Cuban artist on U.S. tour visits striking Pittston coal miners

BY PETER THIERJUNG

Miners on strike against Pittston Coal Group huddling around a coal-burning stove described the issues in their eight-month strike to Cuban artist Aldo Soler on November 23.

Soler, who has been on tour in the United States after painting the portraits of Fidel Castro and Karl Marx on the Pathfinder Mural in New York, visited coal miners' picket lines an hour south of Charleston, West Virginia.

One miner, who paints, shared photographs of picket shacks he had decorated with union slogans. At a second picket line miners asked Soler if there were coal miners in Cuba. The Cuban painter explained that in Cuba nickel and copper are mined and that miners, like all workers in Cuba, are unionized and pay only 10 percent of their income for rent. Cuban children receive free education through college. "Maybe we should go home with you," one striker said.

While in Charleston, Soler spoke at a reception hosted by The Art Store, a local art gallery. More than \$350 in donations was raised during the tour in West Virginia to cover costs.

More than 125 people heard Soler at a November 16 meeting in Miami sponsored by the Pathfinder Mural Project and supported by Cuban organizations, including the Alianza de Trabajadores de la Comunidad (ATC — Alliance of Workers of the Community), the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Church for the Reunification of the Families.



Cuban artist Aldo Soler meets with miners in Logan County, West Virginia.

Built through invitations and mailings by the host groups, the meeting took place without threats or incidents from rightist Cubans.

A representative of the ATC presented Soler with a plaque saluting his "productive

years dedicated with talent and loyalty to our Cuban homeland." During his swing through Miami some \$1,000 was raised toward the costs of the mural.

The Atlanta City Council extended its best

wishes to Soler in his continued artistic endeavors and designated November 17 and 18 "Aldo Soler Weekend" in a special proclamation welcoming him to that city.

At a meeting jointly sponsored by the Pathfinder Mural Project and the Atlanta Bureau of Cultural Affairs at New Visions Art Gallery, Harriet Sanford, the bureau's director, presented Soler with an Honorary Citizen Award from Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young. At the request of Coretta Scott King, Soler toured the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Non-Violent Social Change.

A meeting was also organized for the Cuban artist at Clark Atlanta University.

Soler concluded his U.S. tour in St. Louis at the Artists Coalition Gallery. Sponsors included Left Bank Books and the Latin American Solidarity Committee. Following his slideshow on contemporary Cuban art, Soler fielded a variety of questions about his work as an artist in Cuba and about the Cuban revolution.

The November 26 meeting concluded with the presentation to Soler of a commemorative scrapbook of his tour across the United States and with petitions containing hundreds of signatures welcoming him to this country and calling for further cultural exchanges. "I return home knowing that there are many friends of Cuba here," Soler said.

Maggie McCraw from Charleston, West Virginia; Pete Seidman from Miami; Maceo Dixon from Atlanta; and Kim Kleinman from St. Louis contributed to this article.

Vancouver gathering celebrates Che Guevara's legacy

BY JOAN CAMPANA

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Some 200 people gathered here November 17 to celebrate the English-language publication of the new Pathfinder book, *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*. The evening featured the book's author, Cuban economist Carlos Tablada, as well as a broad range of other speakers. It was sponsored by Pathfinder Books, recently set up in Vancouver.

A standing ovation greeted the first speaker, Roberto Aviles, representative of the FMLN-FDR (Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front) support group in Vancouver. FMLN forces were engaging Salvadoran government troops in open battle as the meeting unfolded.

Through Carlos Tablada's book, Aviles explained, we have seen "Che the scientist, interested in the economy, showing us in the Third World the only road to build a society really worthy of human beings."

The book's importance was underlined in greetings sent to the meeting from prominent Vancouver city council alderperson Harry Rankin. "I recommend that all progressive people read this book and pass it on to their friends. Now more than ever we need to take heart and rededicate ourselves to the struggle for a world in which ordinary people can have proper food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education, and the ability to develop themselves to their full potential."

Michel Prairie, editor of the new French-language Pathfinder pamphlet, *Le socialisme et l'homme à Cuba* (Socialism and Man in Cuba) by Ernesto Che Guevara and Cuban President Fidel Castro, addressed the meeting. He emphasized the wide interest in Cuba found among students and working people everywhere Tablada spoke.

New human consciousness

The book helped her to see that "socialism is not just a new economic system, but a new

human consciousness, a new ethics," said Hilda Thomas, a provincial executive member of the British Columbia New Democratic Party (NDP), and a leader of the abortion rights movement.

George Lai, a representative of the African National Congress of South Africa, commented on the book's timeliness for nations in the world that are "looking to restructure their countries."

"Apartheid is dying and soon our people will take power," he said. "To help prepare for this, we must study the experiences and thoughts of others, especially the rectification process in Cuba, and the thoughts of Che Guevara."

During the meeting, chairperson Katy LeRougetel welcomed Luis Arturo Romero, secretary general of the Union of Guatemalan Electrical Institute Workers, and several members of the International Association of Machinists on strike against Boeing in Seattle.

Among the many greetings received by the meetings' organizers was one from Gerry LeBlanc, a leader of Local 9113 of the United Steelworkers of America in Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia. "As a worker and union activist I would urge all my sisters and brothers in the labor movement in British Columbia to read this pertinent work," he wrote. "By contrasting our situation with that of workers who have taken part in the transition to socialism, we can find valuable assistance in charting our own direction for significant political change in this province and country."

Jack Nicol, president of the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union stressed that "the book is timely indeed, when socialists all around the world have to examine the whole economic philosophy of socialism."

"If Bush takes comfort from the fact of the Berlin wall coming down," he said, "there are other walls that must come down like the wall the U.S. government has put up to isolate Cuba" or the wall they have tried to build around Nicaragua.

Mike Barker, a member of the provincial

executive of the British Columbia Hospital Employees Union, pointed out that "there are those who think that perestroika, the use of capitalist market mechanisms, will help build socialism."

"In fact, this book offers some of the best arguments against the extensive use of market mechanisms, the law of value, material incentives, and so on in building socialism," he argued.

Elizabeth Stone, former managing editor of Pathfinder and author of *Women and the Cuban Revolution* explained that Cuba "has been doing what no other underdeveloped country has been able to do." She said, "this would not have been possible without a deep-going revolution in which the Cuban people took over the economic resources of their country, and began to build a socialist society."

Tablada was introduced by Jim Lindsay, a Vancouver doctor who spent three years in Cuba in the 1960s helping to develop the country's occupational health system. Lindsay is the past president of the Vancouver Canadian-Cuban Friendship Association.

One of Guevara's greatest contributions, Tablada said, "has everything to do with the participation of the masses. How is it possible to have a revolution without the masses?" The people of El Salvador, he said, are not fighting for money. "The people fight for ideas, for moral values. Why should we think that people cannot go on fighting like that after taking power?"

The methods used in the struggle are vital, he continued.

He reported that at several campus meetings students asked, "Why don't you establish perestroika in Cuba?" There was pressure on Cuba to do so, he said.

Cuba had already tried copying the economic and planning methods of other countries during the 1970s, Tablada explained. As a result of the introduction of capitalist market mechanisms the revolution began to go off course. Workers' involvement in running

the economy was minimized. But now with the rectification process launched in 1986 "we are eradicating the roots of these capitalist methods," and Cuban workers will have a greater role in directing the economy again.

Socialism not in crisis

Those who call on Cuba to return to the planning methods used in the Soviet Union, Tablada said, could instead "ask our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to apply rectification."

"Cuba's experience is showing that human beings are not little animals moved only by a stick or money," Tablada continued.

"We believe you can believe in socialism and communism. We believe socialism and communism are not in crisis. It is possible that some societies are in crisis. Maybe some ideas of what socialism was are in crisis. But socialism is not in crisis. And we are confident that these ideas will spread in the world," Tablada concluded.

The translation of the last sentences into English was virtually drowned out as a large part of the audience who spoke and understood Spanish rose in a rousing ovation.

Other greetings to the meeting were received from Mike Harcourt, leader of the British Columbia NDP and the Official Opposition in the British Columbia legislature; Paul McKane, chairperson of the Vancouver Support Committee for the South African Congress of Trade Unions; the Chilean Association of British Columbia; the Latin American Studies Association; and the Vancouver Tools for Peace.

During his tour in western Canada Tablada also spoke to students and professors at universities in Calgary and Edmonton in Alberta, Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver.

Over the course of his 14-day Canada tour, Tablada spoke to some 1,300 people at four meetings sponsored by Pathfinder, and 15 meetings on 12 university campuses.